

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NEW JERSEY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

VOL. VI.

1851---1853.

NEWARK, N. J.:

1853.

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ERRATA.

Pages 65 to 80 inclusive, are erroneously paged 16 to 32.

On page 182, Letters from the English Kings and Queens were received from R. R. Hinman, Esq.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Vol. VI.

1851.

No. I.

SOMERVILLE, Sept. 11th. 1851.

THIS being the day designated by the Executive Committee for the meeting at this place, the Society convened in the Court House at 12 o'clock; the President, Hon. JOSEPH C. HORNBLOWER, LL. D., being in the Chair, and the Hon. JAMES G. KING, one of the Vice Presidents, also in attendance.

Mr. HAYES being absent, Mr. JACOB VAN ARSDALE was appointed Recording Secretary *pro tem.*, and read the minutes of the last meeting.

THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY submitted the correspondence since May, and laid upon the table letters from GEORGE GREEN, Esq. of Dayton, Ohio, and DAVID BISHOP, Esq., of New Brunswick, in acknowledgement of their election as members;—from Hon. GEORGE FOLSOM, Charge d'Affaires at the Hague; CHARLES T. JACKSON, M.D. of Boston, and Prof. JOSEPH HENRY, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, transmitting donations for the library;—from G. M. WILKINS, Esq., and L. G. MORRIS, Esq., of Westchester, New York, in relation to matters connected with the publication by the Society of the papers of Governor Lewis Morris;—from the Historical Societies of Pennsylvania and Connecticut, and the American Antiquarian Society, and from various individuals in relation to the Society's operations.

He also stated that he had received within a few days a package of valuable pamphlets, transmitted, unsolicited, by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen, as a donation to the Society

from that distinguished body. From one of these pamphlets he read some passages relating to the Ante-Columbian discoveries in America—a subject in which the Copenhagen Society has taken great interest.

The letter of Hon. Geo. Folsom, accompanied a copy of Lambrecht-sen's History of Nieuw Nederland, with an Eulogy on the author, delivered at Middleburg, in the province of Zeeland in 1824. Only a few copies of these works remained unsold at Middleburg, and Mr. Folsom very considerably purchased them for distribution among the public libraries in the United States.

Besides these, other donations were announced in the report of the Librarian.

The Treasurers' report exhibited a balance in the Treasury of \$532 76, with a large amount of arrearages due.

THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS reported that since the last meeting, another number of the Society's periodical had been issued; completing the 5th volume of the "Proceedings," which, as a whole, would be found to contain much valuable information for both the local and general Historian. They regretted that they had still to notice the remissness of members receiving the Periodical, in not forwarding their subscriptions promptly to the Treasurer.

The Committee also reported that the papers of Governor Lewis Morris were ready for publication, should the Society think proper to direct them to publish another volume of Collections. The papers are accompanied by an introductory memoir, giving a sketch of the life of Governor Morris, prior to his entering upon his duties in New Jersey in that capacity—the papers furnishing all needful information of his subsequent career,—and explanatory notes are appended to the different documents, rendering the volume, to a considerable extent, a documentary history of the political events of New Jersey, from 1738 to 1746. During that period, a constant struggle was kept up between the Executive and General Assembly, and the volume will throw much light upon the relations of the governed and their governors, not only then, but during the whole of the Provincial Era. There are occasional references to the public men of the day and to various topics of interest, which add materially to the value of the papers, and the Committee were assured that their publication would prove creditable to the Society, and be in accordance with one of the main objects of its organization—the dissemination of authentic materials illustrating the history of the State.

It was recommended to embellish the volume with an engraved portrait of Governor Morris, the use of an original likeness, in the possession of L. G. Morris, Esq., of Westchester, N. Y., having been tendered the Society for that purpose.

The Committee submitted the following resolution :

Resolved, That another volume of Collections, comprising the papers of Governor Lewis Morris, be published, under the direction of the Committee on Publications, so soon as the condition of the Society's funds from subscriptions to the volume, or other sources, may in their estimation warrant the procedure.

On motion of Mr. FIELD, the report was accepted and the resolution adopted.

MR. WHITEHEAD, from the Committee on Purchases, reported that the additions made to the Library in that way had been few since the last meeting ; that some exertions had been made towards perfecting the Society's collection of the public documents of the State, as well as its files of early newspapers, but with little success. The coöperation of all the members, in obtaining volumes of the pamphlet laws and of the Minutes of the Legislature in past years, was earnestly solicited.

Reports from Committees on Monumental Inscriptions being called for, Rev. Dr. MESSLER submitted copies of those in the Lutheran Burying Ground at Pluckamin, prepared for the Society by Rev. R. I. Blair, with some notices of the Church and place. It was in this ground that the British Captain Leslie was interred who was mortally wounded in the Battle of Princeton.

MR. CONGAR urged the members residing in the old towns of the State to comply with the wishes of the Society, and prepare similar returns ; remarking upon their value to those engaged in genealogical researches.

HON. JAMES G. KING, from the Committee charged with the management of the Colonial Document Fund, submitted the following report :

The Committee would refer to the several Reports made to the Society in 1848, 1850 and 1851, and have now to state that, since the last meeting of the Society, there have been received from Mr. Henry Stevens nine volumes of a Historical Index of New Jersey Colonial Documents—embracing the period from 12th March, 1664,

to 23d December, 1775, more than one hundred years—each volume containing two hundred manuscript cards, or 1800 in all.

As a part of their Report, the Committee desire to include extracts from Mr. Steven's letter of 20th July, 1851, as follows:

“ By the last steamer I sent you, through Mr. Putnam, the result of my investigations into the early history of New Jersey. The work fills nine volumes in quarto cases, covered with blue morocco, and having locks and keys. The entire work consists of eighteen hundred separate cards, each containing an abstract of some paper relating to New Jersey, found in the Queen's State Paper Office. A reference to the particular place where each document may be found is given, together with the date, and its length in the number of folios. A folio as estimated in the State Paper Office consists of 72 words, and the official price of having copies made, being regulated by law at four pence per folio, the price of copying each document may readily be estimated. The cards are arranged chronologically, two hundred in each case, and each case has the first and last date lettered on the back.

The work has been much more laborious than I at first anticipated, and even now is not so complete as I would like to make it. As far as we have gone, however, nothing has been omitted; but as we are groping our way, as it were blindfolded, through huge folios of manuscripts badly arranged, it is impossible to tell what may yet turn up. The whole field for the regular search in the State Paper Office has been gone over; but still there are other miscellaneous volumes, and recent additions, which have not yet been examined thoroughly, though I know that some forty or fifty documents are among those papers, and perhaps more may yet be found, though probably not many.

From these calendars I have wholly omitted three very important series of papers, which exist in the State Paper Office, from the great difficulty of making intelligible abstracts. These are—

1. Journals of the House of Representatives of New Jersey, tolerably complete, from 1703 to 1775; the most of which prior to 1728 being in manuscript, and the rest printed.

2. Minutes of Council in Assembly of the Province of New Jersey, from 1734 to 1775, nearly complete, in manuscript.

3. Minutes of Council of the Province of New Jersey, from 1768 to 1775. These are all in manuscript, and are of the greatest importance.

On the 15th Nov. 1849, I wrote you fully about these three series of papers, and sent you full lists of them chronologically arranged.

* * * * *

The work has already cost me considerably more than the sum I mentioned ; but as the work is still incomplete, I should like to go on with it, and receive payment in proportion to the number of details found. Should the Society resolve to print the calendar in their transactions, I should like to add a preface of 20 or 30 pages, and also a list of all the printed books, and parts of books, illustrative of New Jersey history. I will only add, that I have added to the calendar abstracts of a few documents that I knew were printed, but I thought it best to tell where the originals were."

In regard to the three series of papers enumerated in the preceding letter, the Society will remember that their attention was called to them, as appears in their printed proceedings of May, 1850, and the matter seems then to have been finally disposed of.

In reference to the completion of the work entrusted to Mr. Stevens, which he desires to go on with, and at an expense of not more than £25, your Committee have instructed him to proceed with the same, not doubting that the requisite sum will be forthcoming from individual subscription, if the Society do not make an appropriation for that object.

Supposing that the calendars would be printed by the Society, your Committee have also requested Mr. Stevens to prepare and forward the preface to be written by him, together with the list of printed books and parts of books, illustrative of New Jersey history.

Your Committee, in conclusion, present for adoption the following resolution :

Resolved, "That the thanks of the New Jersey Historical Society be presented to Henry Stevens, Esq., now in London, for his discrimination, good judgment and fidelity in the selection and arrangement of his Index of the Colonial Documents of New Jersey, and that a copy of this resolution, duly authenticated, be transmitted to him by the Secretary."

On motion of Dr. L. A. SMITH, this resolution was adopted.

One of the cases received from Mr. Stevens was presented for the inspection of the Members, and received the attention to which the value of its contents and the extreme neatness—not to say beauty, of the manuscript entitled it.

Some conversation ensued as to the propriety of renewing the application to the Legislature for the adoption of measures looking to the procurement of the Minutes of the Council and Assembly, which are wanting, but it was thought useless to do so, so decidedly adverse

to the views of the Society had the representatives of the people shown themselves heretofore.

[Subscriptions for the further prosecution of the work will be received by either of the Committee—Messrs. J. G. King, W. A. Whitehead, and P. S. Duryee.]

Mr. DURYEE, in behalf of the Committee on Nominations, reported favorably upon the names of several gentlemen which had been referred to them—who were all duly elected members, and new nominations were received.

From Mr. F. B. CHETWOOD was received a small MS Book containing heads of sermons preached by the Rev. Timothy Edwards (father of President Edwards) in 1707—written in such small characters as almost to baffle an attempt at decyphering without the use of magnifiers.

Rev. GEORGE G. SCHENCK presented an original letter from Robert Morris, the able Financier during the Revolution, dated October 19th, 1781, detailing the political and financial condition of the States at that time.

Mr. SAM'L H. CONGAR presented fac-similes of many of the first settlers of Newark.

Rev. A. B. PATERSON presented a copy of an Original Diary in his possession, kept by a gentleman of Sir Henry Clinton's suite, while marching through the State with the British Army, prior to the Battle of Monmouth; and stating many circumstances connected with that conflict.

While a motion to adjourn for dinner was pending, an informal but interesting discussion arose, relative to the religious habits of General Washington; prompted by the relation of an anecdote by the Rev. Dr. PROUDFIT, which he was disposed to credit, and desired to see in print, to the effect that the General on one occasion called for a Bible at a tavern in Princeton, and, after stating that it was his invariable custom to commence the day with religious exercises, read a chapter aloud in the presence of Mrs. Washington, and the officers of an escort which accompanied him from New Brunswick, and then made an extemporaneous prayer of much beauty, and highly appropriate to the circumstances of the times.

Mr. FIELD, in view of all that has been written by Sparks and others of the character and disposition of Washington, as well as of

his moral and religious sentiments, freely canvassed the probabilities of the story ; and the PRESIDENT, Rev. Dr. DAVIDSON, Dr. MESSLER, Mr. BRADLEY and Rev. Mr. SHERMAN, joined in the conversation, which elicited many illustrative details of Washington's habits, drawn from various sources, and which were listened to with much interest. The result, apparently, was a sincere conviction in the minds of all, that the high moral and religious character of Washington was too firmly established, to call for confirmation at this late day from any single circumstance of doubtful import, resting for credence upon the memory of individuals or traditionary statements.

The Society then adjourned for dinner.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Society re-assembled at three o'clock, when the Rev. G. C. SCHANCK, of Pompton, read a short paper intended to identify what is known as the "Round Valley" in Lebanon Township, Hunterdon County—with the seat of the Raritan King—mentioned in Beauchamp Plantagenet's account of the Palatinate of New Albion.

PRESIDENT KING, of Columbia College, on rising to move the thanks of the Society to the author, alluded to the mystery which enshrouded the proceedings of Lord Ployden, and said that any researches calculated to establish positions or circumstances mentioned by Plantagenet could not be otherwise than advantageous to the Society.

A paper was then read by Mr. WHITEHEAD, "On the Facilities for Traveling, and the Transportation of Mails and Merchandize before the Revolution"—which was followed by one "On the Trial of the Rev. Wm. Tennent for Perjury, in 1742," by RICHARD S. FIELD, Esq., of Princeton, in which the alleged supernatural circumstances attending it were shown to be capable of easy explanation ; and furnishing some information respecting the notorious "Tom Bell" who was the cause of Mr. T.'s prosecution.

Thanks were voted for these papers, and copies requested for the Archives of the Society, and it then adjourned to meet at Trenton on the third Thursday of January next.

SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE AND PAPERS.

Laid before the Society, Sept. 11th, 1851.

FROM THE HON. GEORGE FOLSOM.

LEGATION OF THE U. S. TO THE NETHERLANDS, }
THE HAGUE, *May 6th*, 1851. }

SIR:—I beg leave to present to the Library of the New Jersey Historical Society a copy of Lambrichtsens's History of Nieuw Nederland, comprising the State of New Jersey as well as New York, under the Dutch government. A translation of this work appeared a few years since in a volume of the Collections of the New York Historical Society. I also send a Eulogy on Lambrichtsens, delivered at Middleburg, in the Province of Zeeland, in 1824.

Only a few copies of these books remained unsold at Middleburg, and I have purchased them for distribution to public libraries at home, that they might be preserved. I shall be glad to learn that they are acceptable to your Society.

Very truly and respectfully,

Your obed't ser't, &c.

GEO. FOLSOM.

To the Corresp'g Sec'y of the N. Jersey Historical Society.

FROM GEORGE GREEN, ESQ.

DAYTON, O., *July 3d*, 1851.

I had the honor some time since of receiving your letter, together with the official evidence of my election to a "Corresponding membership of the New Jersey Historical Society," for which you will be pleased to accept my thanks, with the assurance to the Society that I shall always be proud of every mark of confidence or respect from my native State, and that I shall not forget her interests whenever it shall be in my power to promote or favor them.

I venture to send a paper, found in an old trunk of my father's, who was an old resident of Sussex. It may throw some light upon the early modes of transacting business in the Colonies.

I will state one fact, of which I have often heard my father speak. He was a Quaker, and therefore a non-combatant—but singular as it may appear, he always voted and acted on the Whig side as far as possible. You are probably already aware of the fact, of which I have often heard him speak, that Sussex in olden times was full of Tories. He then resided on the Peaquest, about two miles, or thereabouts, south of Greenville. He dealt in Leather, and formed a plan when Washington retired to Morristown with his suffering barefooted army, to do what he could for their comfort. He managed to procure a load of shoes and took them down to the army, but was actually obliged to transact the whole matter with the greatest secrecy, and cover his operations with another more ostensible design, to prevent his Tory neighbors from attacking him and frustrating his purpose. He succeeded, however, in putting the shoes in the possession of the Army, and I have often heard him dwell with great satisfaction upon the fact, and felicitate himself that he had been enabled to do something for those brave men, although he could not join them in action for conscience sake.

With great respect, I remain with great

Respect truly yours,

GEO. GREEN.

W. A. WHITEHEAD, Esq., Sec'y, &c.

FROM CHARLES C. RAFN, ESQ., SEC'Y, &c.

COPENHAGEN, *June 4, 1851.*

The accompanying "Guide to Northern Archeology" is sent to your Institution as a gift from the Earl of Ellesmere, who has inserted in it some observations concerning the Ante-Columbian History of America.

By the same opportunity, the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries sends some copies of an abstract of its last published Report for your Library, and for the President and other Members of your Society.

It is not expected on account of the enormous expense of postage that you will give yourself the trouble of acknowledging the receipt of this, unless at the same time you may have something of especial interest to communicate to the Society, which will in that case be gladly received.

CHAS. C. RAFN, Sec'y R. S. N. A.

The Historical Society of New Jersey.

LETTER FROM HON. ROBERT MORRIS,

*Presented by REV. GEORGE SCHENCK.*OFFICE OF FINANCE, *Octob'r 19th, 1781.*

SIR:—I am now to address you on a subject of great importance. I am to detail some facts, which will demand the most serious Attention from every Legislature, and from every Public Officer in the United States; it is my Determination to administer the Affairs intrusted to my care! According to Plans which are founded on sincerity and Truth. Convinc'd of the folly of our Enemy in supposing any considerable Body of Men in the United States, are opposed to the revolution, I am persuaded that in order to remove the greater part of our Difficulties the first proper Step is to state them fully to the People thro' their Representatives; It shall therefore be a part of my study to prepare every Transaction for the Public Eye, so that the meanest Individual, may be in due time informed of those affairs in which as a free Citizen he is interested. The various reports which have been circulated, the Publications in the several Gazettes, and even Letters, from some who ought to have known better, all these things have conspired to infuse an Opinion that every Power in Europe is favorable to us, that great sums of money are already advanced to us, and that still greater may be obtained. Whatever may be the fate of my Administration, I never will be subjected to the reproach of falsehood, or Insincerity, I therefore take the earliest moment in which I am permitted to make those Communications, which will give an insight into our real situation. With respect to the situation and Politics of Europe, it is neither my business to detail them, nor am I in a capacity to do it with certainty, but this at least is certain, that the disposition of the European Powers however friendly, has been too much relied on. As a proof, I need only observe that not a single state has acknowledged our Independence except France, altho' our alliance with that respectable Monarchy has subsisted near four Years, and that Monarchy is certainly the first in the World. It is in the closest connexion with Spain, Spain has long been engaged in the war, and still longer solicited to form an Union upon the basis of the Treaty with France, the armed Neutrality which gave such splendid hopes to many has not yet produced the benefits expected. I will not proceed on the Ground of Conjecture, nor is it necessary for me to dwell longer on our Political State with respect to Foreign Powers; but as there is little reason to expect, so I hope there is no American who would wish, an Alliance with any Empire on Earth untill they

shall be so sensible of our Importance as to treat on Principles of Equality; the Public opinion as to the conduct of other Princes, and States, has greatly injured us by relaxing our exertions, but the opinion as to pecuniary aid has been still more pernicious. People have flattered themselves with a visionary Idea that nothing more was necessary than for Congress to send a Minister abroad, and that immediately he would obtain as much as he chose to ask for; that when he opened a Loan hundreds would run to see who should have the honor of subscribing to it, and the like; but surely a moment's reflection should have convince'd every reasonable Man, that without clear prospect of repayment People will not part with their property. Have the Efforts to borrow in this Country been so successful as to ground any hopes from abroad, or is it to be supposed that Foreigners will interest themselves more in our prosperity, or safety, than our Citizens?—or can it be believed that Credit shall be given abroad before solid Funds are provided at home?—or could it be imagined that the disorders necessarily incident to a great revolution would be considered as a better source of Trust, and Confidence, than the regularity and consistency of antient Establishments? The Congress, conformably to the public wish, have appointed ministers, requested Grants, and opened Loans, in Holland they have got nothing, and in Spain but very little. Loans were expected from Individuals in Holland, but nothing of that sort has been nor probably will be obtained. Loans were not expected in Spain unless from the King, and from him they have been solicited with but little success. The distressed situation of Public Affairs forced Congress to draw bills of exchange on their ministers; some were drawn on France, some on Spain, and some on Holland; the first were honored and paid, the others were accepted, but the recourse was finally had to the Court of France for payment of those also. They were drawn at long sight, the sales were slow, they were remitted from time to time, and every opportunity afforded the United States to obtain the money's for discharging them, but in vain. Of consequence these Bills have been regularly referred to the Court of France for payment, and this has done us injury by anticipating the aid which France has been disposed to afford us; and at the same time has justly alarmed, and greatly embarrassed, the French Ministry. These things it appears necessary that you should know and your Legislature will undoubtedly draw the proper Inferences; they will see how much has been suffered by delaying to draw forth the resources of our Country, and relying on the empty bubbles of hope, instead of the solid Foundations of Revenue. They will I trust clearly see that

all their hopes & expectations are narrowed down to what France may give or lend : but here, as in other cases, delusion takes place of reality ; we flatter ourselves with ideal prospects and are convinced of our folly by the fatal crisis of national distress. In order that you may clearly understand the succor afforded by France, I enclose you an account lately extracted from a statement furnished to Congress, by the Minister Plenipotentiary of his most Christian Majesty. You will observe that his Majesty granted to the United States, a subsidy for the current Year of six Millions Livres, and on a representation of our distresses he was pleased to become security for a Loan to be opened on our account in Holland ; and when it appeared that there was little probability of obtaining any money there in season, he further agreed that the sum to be borrowed, should be advanced for us in the first Instance from the Royal Treasury. Thus the gift, and the loan, together, amount to sixteen Millions of Livres, which would, if in this Country, be equal only to two Millions nine hundred and sixty two thousand nine hundred and sixty two Dollars ; altho' at the rate of estimating Dollars in France it is there equal to three Millions five hundred and sixty thousand Dollars. I have been thus particular with respect to the amount of this sum because the difference of Currencies very often tends to deceive those to whom their real value is not a familiar subject of their Attention. The enclosed account is in Livres, and the two first Articles, contain the total of the grant and loan, amounting to sixteen millions Livres, the remainder contains the deductions to be made ; the two first articles whereof amounting to two millions three hundred thousand Livres, is for the payment of the bills drawn on France, Spain and Holland, which I have already mentioned, the produce of the sales whereof had been applied to the public service long before my appointment ; the next article, being two millions of Livres, is appropriated to the payment of Interest bills, wherefore no part of it can be applied to other purposes ; the fourth article I need say nothing of here as it has long been in the mouths of every body, the fifth and sixth articles, are for those Stores which were laden on board of four transports by order of Col. Laurens, three of which have safely arrived and the other put back in distress. The seventh article, is in consequence of the loss of that valuable ship the Marquis De la Fayette ; which contained a great number of public Stores, the replacing of which is necessary for the army & its operations and which will amount to that sum. The last article contains the amount of monies deposited to answer my drafts, which have been made from time to time, and the produce appropriated to

the services of the current year : on the whole there remains a balance of three millions sixteen thousand, four hundred and ninety-nine Livres : this, with the sum brought by Col. Laurens, may be considered as of the value of about One Million Dollars, which is the utmost ; for it would exceed that only by twenty one thousand five hundred and seventy four Dollars, if it were in this country. Thus then you see the extent of that pecuniary succor, which has filled the minds of all with such teeming Expectations, narrow'd down to one million of Dollars ; but by the best accounts and estimates I have been able to procure, this War has hitherto cost about twenty millions annually. I do indeed expect that the future Expenditures, will be greatly curtailed but it must be rem'bered, that the most rigid economy has its bounds, and that it cannot exist without the punctual performance of those engagements on which the first steps towards it must depend. As soon as the proper Estimates for the next year can be made out, the Demands founded on them will be stated, and I shall shortly advertise for Contracts, as the most effectual mode of husbanding our resources : I feel it my duty however to observe that a note this day sent to Congress, of some of my principal engagements for money, amounts to upwards of two hundred thousand Dollars ; yet the calls for it from every Quarter are incessant. I would gladly quit the subject of Foreign Supplies, and Expectations here, but it is necessary that the States should know all, and I should not answer the views of Congress, if I did not add that the Court of France place the aid now afforded us, among the number of those extraordinary efforts which cannot be repeated. That declaration that no more pecuniary Assistance can be afforded to us, is as plain as language will admit of ; and altho' applications on the subject may and probably will be made by our Ministers to the Court of Versailles, yet surely no prudent Man would form any reliance on such applications in the face of such a pointed and expressed assurance to the contrary : and especially when to every request a short answer can be made by asking what we have done for ourselves. Sir I must speak to you most plainly, while we do nothing for ourselves we cannot expect the assistance of others. This is a very painful subject to dwell upon, but a consideration of great magnitude remains behind and sooner or later must come forward : prudence therefore bids us examine it now, and provide for it in season. The neglect of funding the Public Debt has introduced a practice of issuing Loan Office Certificates for the Interest due on other Loan Office Certificates ; this I have absolutely forbidden, nor will I ever consent to it ; such accu-

mulation of Debt while it distresses the Public and destroys its credit by no means relieves the unhappy Individual who is a public Creditor ; for if revenue is not provided, increasing the Certificates would only lessen their Value, this would be such a fraud as would stamp our National Character with indelible marks of Infamy, and render us the reproach and Contempt of all Mankind. It is high time to relieve ourselves from the Ignominy we have already sustained, and to rescue and restore the National Credit—this can only be done by solid revenue. Disdaining therefore those little timid artifices which, while they postpone the moment of difficulty, only increase the danger and confirm the ruin ; I prefer the open declaration to all, of what is to be expected and whence it is to be drawn to the Public Creditors ; therefore I say that until the States provide revenue for Liquidating the Principal and Interest of the public debt, they cannot be paid. And to the States I say, that they are bound by every Principle which is held sacred, among Men to make the Provision. I have gone thro' the Task which I proposed to myself, in writing your Excellency this Letter, which I pray you to communicate to the Legislature of your State ; I hope the Congress will soon be enabled to transmit their Requisitions and I shall endeavour that these be as moderate as possible, but I must pray that every Man whether in public, or private Life, will seriously consider the necessity of complying with those requisitions. It is not by the brilliant successes of War, the splendor of conquest, or the shouts of victory, that a wise ministry are to be affected ; the superiority of National Resources, is the secure Ground on which to hope for success, and the superior Resource steadily and perseveringly applied, must eventually obtain its objects. It is for these Reasons that the Enemy have hoped every thing from the Derangements of our Finances, and on the other hand, as I am well informed, it is from the Establishments of a National Bank, and the forming of Contracts, to supply our Armies, that they have the greatest apprehensions. By the bounty of the Almighty, we are placed in the situation where our future fate depends on our present Conduct ; we may be happy or miserable as we please. If we do our duty now, this War will soon be brought to a close. If not, it may last for many Years ; and what will then be its termination, is not in human wisdom to foresee. Thoroughly convinced that the Enemy must ask Peace when we are in a Condition vigorously to prosecute the War, and that we shall be in that condition whenever our Affairs are reduced to order, and our Credit restored ; and that for these purposes, nothing more is necessary, than a proper system of Taxation, I cannot avoid

expressing my sentiments on the subject, in all the warmth with which they flow from my Heart; I hope and pray the facts I have stated may meet with that calm attention which is due to their Importance, and that such measures may be taken as shall redound to the Union & Interest of the United States.

I am Yr's &c.

ROBT. MORRIS.

COPY OF A JOURNAL,

By ANDREW BELL, Esq.,

At one time Confidential Secretary of General Sir Henry Clinton. Kept during the march of the British Army through New-Jersey, in 1778.

Presented by REV. A. BELL PATERSON.

June 17th, 1778, W.—At night, about 9, crossed at Cooper's ferry, where was all the baggage of the army. The movement from Philadelphia was sooner by several days than was expected, the whole of the baggage being on Jersey side, the Grenadiers and Light Infantry were marched to the lines, where they lay on their arms till next morning.

T., 18th.—Sir Henry Clinton, with the army from the lines, crossed at Gloucester, having marched on the back of the town. Early this morning, Gen. Leslie marched from Coopers with the Rangers and Yagers in the van of the baggage, to Haddonfield, where we arrived about 9 o'clock, and were soon after joined by Gen. Clinton with the whole army, from Gloucester. Gen. Knyphausen having already arrived at this place.

F., 19th.—Gen. Clinton moved with 3 Brigades of British,—leaving Gen. Knyphausen with the Hessians and two British Brigades at Haddonfield,—to Evesham, about 8 miles, and encamped. Gen. Leslie, with the advance guard as before, fell in with a small party of the Rebels, who only kept a running fire in a scattered manner, but the Yagers did the business with the Captain who commanded, (Beasley) who was buried this evening.

S., 20th.—Marched from this place at 4, and met with no interruption from the Rebels the whole day. Saw a man sitting by the road side who belonged to the forementioned party, and had been wounded by the Yagers with swords, in a dangerous way. He proved a deserter from the 28th regiment—(executed.) A light horseman of theirs was found in the wood, wounded, yesterday, but was so obstinate as not to tell the route his comrades had taken. We arrived at Mount Holly at 11, and halted. The Rebels, to the number of 1300,

under Maxwell, had been here 16 days, and marched with precipitation yesterday morning, having received information from a Yager who deserted to them. Major Joe Bloomfield was among them.—The inhabitants had sent all their effects out of this place, but were sorry for it when they met with such civility from the army. At a small distance from this town a bridge was broken down by the Rebels, which when our people were repairing, were fired upon by those villains from a house, two of whom were taken, three killed, and other two ran into the cellar, and fastened it, so that were obliged to burn the house and consume them in it.

June 21, S.—Remained here all day. At 9 o'clock A. M., Gen. Knyphusen arrived with his Division from Haddonfield by way of Moorestown: he had no kind of interruption.

June 22, M.—The whole army moved from Holly, and halted at Black Horse, 7 miles, which place the Rebels left this morning. Maxwell and Dickerson, with 2 or 3,000 men, were informed here that Washington was crossing the Delaware to oppose us. The rebels appear to be throwing up works at a little distance from us on the road to Crosswicks. 'Tis said Stirling and Wayne are there. Their forces cannot be great, and therefore can give us very little trouble.—The people have all left their houses here except the women, who expect that by the regard commonly shown to their sex, to save the property of those who, from their conscious guilt, have fled from the hand of justice. Sir Henry Clinton took the utmost care on the march to preserve the peaceable inhabitants by placing a light horseman to protect them till that wing had passed. Gen. Leslie, with his brigade, flanked the army at 17 miles distant, and joined us here at three o'clock.

June 23, T.—Gen. Clinton, with Lord Cornwallis' Column, consisting of 1st and 2d Battalions Grenadiers and 1st and 2d Light Infantry, with Hessian Grenadiers 2 Battalions, and 1st, 2d and 3d Brigade British, moved on at 5 o'clock A. M. to Crosswicks. Gen. Knyphausen with the Hessians, and Gen. Grant with 2d British Brigade followed in another column. Brig. Gen. Leslie with 5th Brigade British and Yagers took the Bordentown road. About a mile before we reached Crosswicks, information was received that the rebels were making a show of resistance there. The 16th Dragoons flew to the place and received the fire of about 500 musketry, without loss. The rebels had retired over the bridge and destroyed it, which gave them an opportunity of getting off with safety, and prevented us pursuing them. During the firing across the bridge and along the creek, the Rangers behaved with their usual spirit. Capt.

Stevenson, of their light company, unfortunately had a wound through his left breast, which it is thought will prove mortal. He was the only one we had hurt. There were three rebels killed by our cannon, which came up in good time to cover our workmen at the bridge, over which, when repaired, the Light Horse Rangers and 1st Battalion, Light Infantry instantly crossed and pursued them two miles—but a creek being in the way, and the rebels having taken up the bridge, were obliged to return with seven prisoners. This place is eight miles from where we started this morning; we halted here all night.

June 24, W.—The army marched in the before mentioned order to Allentown, four miles—the rebels had been here in the morning and torn up the bridge, which retarded us a short time. The Light Horse and Infantry pursued them four miles, but could not come up with any number, and brought in a few stragglers prisoners. Gen. Knyphausen's column encamped this night in and about Emlaystown, three miles distant. Gen. Leslie's Brigade joined us here.

June 25, T.—Gen. Clinton marched at 5 with his division, and met Gen. Knyphausen's column, having their ground on the road to Freehold, which was the route of the whole army. The rebels had taken post near Brunswick and Amboy, expecting us that way, but were outwitted by the march to a different quarter. Gen. Knyphausen moved and encamped on the borders of Freehold township, 13 miles in the van. Gen. Leslie followed, and Gen. Clinton, with the rear division, halted at the Rising Sun, seven miles from Allentown.

June 26, F.—Gen Knyphausen's column moved to Freeholdtown, 4 miles, where the remainder of the army arrived at 10 A. M., 19 miles from Rising Sun—a very warm day—very tired.

June 27, S.—The whole army halted here this day. A deserter from Washington's army informs that the rebels are extended along our left flank and are very numerous. A Light Horseman came in soon after and confirmed the other's story, with the addition that they are determined to attack our rear and aim at the baggage.

June 28, S.—The Rangers went at 1 this morning to take post in the wood back of the Court House, where they were attacked by a large body of the enemy, and defended themselves with astonishing bravery. The two flank companies and the mounted, being detached from the regiment with Col. Simcoe, and were principally beset, suffered most. The horse charged a great force coming against them in three columns, and when instant destruction threatened the corps, as the rebels had got between them and our army, they got clear of the wood by a finesse of the Colonel's. There were none of them killed,

and about 6 or 8 wounded, some dangerously. Col. Simcoe received a wound in the arm. During this time Gen. Clinton was advanced up the lane behind the town, with four regiments drawn up across the field. Gen. Knyphausen marched at 7 with all the baggage of the army in the rear of his column. Gen. Clinton's Division then followed, and as the Grenadiers and light infantry were quitting the town, they were attacked by Fayette's Division, which pressed down the lane above mentioned, but were repulsed the same road, and pursued by these 2 corps and the 42d and Guards—a very smart action now ensued, which lasted with great obstinacy half an hour. The rebels stood much better than ever they did, but were finally obliged to give way, though at least four to one. The other part of the army in this division were advanced on their march about 6 miles, when the rebels first attacked, and the heat of the day prevented their coming up in time to join in the action. Col. Monckton and Lt. Vaughn, of Artillery, were killed. Major Gardiner, Capt. Powell, Capt. Bellow, Capt. Deighton, and Lieuts. Gilchrist and Willis wounded—about 200 killed and wounded. The weather destroyed more than the action. 'Tis generally thought the rebels have lost 2500, as Gen. Clinton was master of the field, and had an opportunity of observing. 'Tis said Lee is killed, and a French General. We took 60 prisoners; from them we learn the rebels had 25,000 men in the field this day, and Gen. Washington was there. The army remained in the field till 12 at night, when the General withdrew them and pursued his march to Middletown. About 50 of our wounded were obliged to be left at Freehold for want of Wagons, and all the Rebels, wounded, giving their parole as prisoners. Gen. Knyphausen encamped within 3 miles of Middletown.

June 29th, M.—Gen. Clinton came up to Knyphausen's encampment at 6 in the morning, about 13 miles from Freehold. At 10 the whole army was in motion, and marched to Middletown, 3 miles, and encamped on the heights about it. Espied Lord Howe's Fleet off the Hook.

June 30, T.—At 11 in the night the army marched towards the Hook about three or four miles, and halted on the Never Sink, near the Bay.

July 1, W.—Remained here all the day. No firing of consequence since the action on Sunday.

July 2, T.—Received with infinite joy permission to go to New-York, which makes this by far the happiest day of any in the march, as I shall embrace those who possess my truest love; the hope of

which alone has supported me through the fatigues attending a campaign. Heaven grant that they may be as truly rejoiced to see me as I shall be to see them. I have no reason to be apprehensive, but the effect of absence is doubtful. I thank God that the sacred flame of friendship is as ardent in my breast as when I left them, and that neither time nor absence has produced any abatement.

MEMBERS ELECTED.

SEPTEMBER 11TH, 1851.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Theodore Runyon, <i>Newark.</i>	George M. Robeson, <i>Newark.</i>
George B. Halsted, <i>Newark.</i>	
Rev. Gustavus Abeel, D. D., <i>Newark.</i>	
William Taylor, M. D., <i>Newark.</i>	Abraham O. Zabriskie, <i>Jersey City.</i>

HONORARY MEMBER.

Rev. William Allen, D. D., *Northampton, Mass.*

CORRESPONDING MEMBER.

Rev. Edwin Hall, D. D., *Norwalk, Conn.*

DONATIONS

ANNOUNCED SEPTEMBER 11TH, 1851.

From the United States.—Thirty-seven Vols. of Public Documents of 1st Session 31st Congress.

From the Regents of the University of N. York.—The 64th Annual Report of the Board of Regents.

The 4th Annual Report of the Regents on the condition of Natural History—3 copies.

The 3d vol. of the Documentary History of New York, by Dr. O'Callaghan.

From Thos. S. Allison, Secretary of State N. Jersey.—Acts of 75th Legislature of N. J.

Halsted's Chancery Reports. Vol. 2.

- Report of State Superintendent of Public Schools for 1847, '48, '40, '50 and '51.
- Report of Trustees of School Fund for 1829, 1842 and 1845.
- Treasurer's Report for 1850 and 1851.
- Report of Committee on Block of Stone for National Monument.
- Population of several counties of N. Jersey by Census of 1850.
- Report of Committee of Ways and Means on Finances of the State for 1851.
- Report of Committee on House of Refuge for 1851.
- Report of Joint Committee on Apportionment of Members of Assembly under the Census of 1850.
- Supplement to the Tax and School Laws.
- Report of Joint Committee of the Legislature on the Lunatic Asylum, for 1851.
- Rules of the Senate of New Jersey for 1851.
- Joint Rules of the Senate and Assembly for 1851.
- Rules of House of Assembly for 1851.
- Gov. Fort's Inaugural Address for 1851.
- Message of the Governor of N. J. and accompanying Document for 1851.
- Report of State Directors of Delaware & Raritan Canal and Camden & Amboy Railroad Companies for 1851.
- Annual Bank Statements for 1851.
- N. J. State Prison Report for 1851.
- Fourth Annual Report of Officers of the N. Jersey Lunatic Asylum for 1851.
- From the Smithsonian Institution.*—Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. Vol. II.
- Notices of Public Libraries in the U. States.
- From the N. England Historical and Genealogical Society.*—The N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register. Vol. 4, and No. 1, 2 and 3 of vol. 5.
- From the U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs.*—Ethnological Researches respecting the Red Men of America.
- From the Hon. Geo. Folsom, Charge d'Affaires at the Hague.*—Korte Beschrijving van de Ontdekking, en de verdere Lotgevallen, van Nieuw Nederland, &c. &c. don Mr. N. C. Lambrechtsen, Van Ritthem, &c. &c.
- Lofrede op den edel wel geboren Heer Nicolaas Cornelis Lambrechtsen, &c. &c. don A. C. Van Citters.
- Lettre de Dr. G. D. J. Schotel, Ministri Evangelique de Tilbourg à

M. J. De Wae, Professeur de l'Université de Leyde, Sur Les Archives du Royaume a La Haye.

The same in the Dutch language.

From the Rev. Lewis Bond, Plainfield.—A Quarter Century Sermon, preached in the 1st Presbyterian Church of Plainfield, N. J., Jan. 5, 1815, by Rev. Lewis Bond, Pastor.

From Hon. James G. King, M. C.—Report on the Geology and Topography of a portion of Lake Superior Land District in the State of Michigan, by J. W. Foster and J. D. Whiting, U. S. Geologists, in two parts. Part I. Copper Lands.

From Gideon Ross, Esq., Westfield.—A Writ in Chancery, directed to Joseph Marsh, Sen'r, Joseph Marsh, Jun'r, and Jonathan Crain, on complaint of John Earl, of Stair, John Penn, Thos. Penn, Richard Penn, and others, dated Aug. 5, 1754; signed Thos. Bartow, Cl'k.

From George Green, Esq., Dayton, Ohio.—Bond of John Cougle to Eph. Green, of Sussex Co., N. J., dated Aug. 11, 1775.

A Judgment on the same, issued by Isaac Martin and Timothy Symmes, Judges of Sussex Common Pleas, dated May 8, 1782.

From Alex. B. Thompson, N. York.—The Institution of the Society of Cincinnati, &c. &c.

From Robert Nichols, Newark.—Examination taken June 27, 1776, of James Mason before Phil. Livingston and Gov. Morris, concerning a supposed Spy, &c. &c. A copy certified by Elisha Boudinot, Return of men enlisted in the N. Jersey Brigade, by Lt. Nathan Wilkinson, during the present War (Revolution).

List of Articles delivered by Nathan Wilkinson, Br. Q. M. to Gen. Maxwell's Brigade, Dec. 1, 1778.

From William A. Whitehead, Newark.—Spirit of Missions. Vol. 15, for the year 1850.

Appeal of Com. Stockton to the people of N. Jersey in relation to Railroad and Canal Contracts.

Address of Southern and Western Liberty Convention held in Cincinnati. June, 1845.

Address and Proceedings of the Democratic Convention held at Rome. Aug. 1829.

Speech of Mr. Brown, of Burlington, in favor of Camden and Key Port Railroad Co. in Legislature of N. J.

Manual of Common Council of N. York. 1845-6.

Report of Committee on Judiciary of Legislature of N. Jersey on ceding State Lands to Jersey City

Report of Joint Special Committee of the N. Y. Common Council relative to the Albany and N. York Railroad.

Navy Register of the United States for 1847.

Report of Directors of the N. Y. and Erie Railroad Co. for 1844.

Report of Directors of the Del. & Raritan Canal and Camden & Amboy Railroad Co.'s for 1844.

Charter, By-Laws, &c. of N. Y. Chamber of Commerce for 1844.

Eighth Annual Report of Managers of the N. Y. Institution for the Blind. ~ 1844.

Correspondence on the Importance and Practicability of a Railroad from N. York to N. Orleans, by De Witt Clinton, Esq., Engineer.

The unconstitutionality of the Law of Congress prohibiting private mails.

Hunt's Merchant's Magazine for Jan. 1845.

The Naval Magazine for March, Sept. and Nov. 1837.

The Report of the Treasurer of N. Jersey for 1847 and 1849.

From C. N. Buck, of Jersey City.—The Pennsylvania Gazette for 1812.

From Isaac N. Tucker, Newark.—The Prisoner's Memoirs, or Dartmoor Prison.

A Century Sermon, preached by Rev. Dr. Macwhorter. Jan. 1, 1801.

A Funeral Sersom on the death of Gen. Washington, by the same.

Monumental Inscriptions of persons executed by the orders of Gen. Jackson in 1815.

Defence of a Liberal Construction of the Powers of Congress as regards Internal Improvements, &c., by Hon. Geo. McDuffie, with preface by Maj. (now Gen.) Hamilton.

From James W. Wall, Esq., Trenton.—Proceedings of the Bench and Bar of N. Jersey on the death of Gen. Garret D. Wall, and the Eulogium pronounced by Hon. L. Q. C. Elmer, at Trenton, April 2, 1851.

From Charles T. Jackson, M. D., Boston, Mass.—Report on the Geological Survey of Mineral Lands in the U. States, by C. T. Jackson, M. D.

From Rev. Jonathan F. Stearns, D. D., Newark.—Eulogy on the Life and Character of Gen. Zachary Taylor, President, &c., by Rev. Geo. L. Prentiss. New Bedford, 1850.

A Historical Discourse commemorative of the organization of the 1st Pres. Church in Newburyport, Mass., by Rev. J. F. Stearns, Pastor, &c. 1846.

From Rt. Rev. Geo. W. Doane, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of the Diocese

of New Jersey.—The Christian Minister, &c. Bishop Doane's 7th Charge.

Bishop Doane's Address at the funeral of Rev. Dr. Ogilby.

Bishop Doane's Jubilee Sermon. 1851.

Bishop Doane's Fourth of July Oration. 1851.

From Wm. J. Allison, of Burlington, N. J.—Memoir of Quamino Buccan, a pious Methodist, by W. J. Allison.

Abridgement of Supreme Court Proceedings, by Chas. Kinsey, Esq. Decision in Chancery of the case of Hendrickson and Shotwell.

An Appeal to the Legislative Council and General Assembly of N. Jersey in behalf of the religious Society of Friends, &c.

A short sketch of the evidence in favor of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, delivered before the House of Commons. London, 1792.

The Constitution of the N. J. Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. 1793.

Cases adjudged in the Supreme Court of N. Jersey, relative to the Manumission of Negroes and others held in bondage. 1793.

Minutes of the 2d, 3d, 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th Conventions of Delegates from Abolition Societies in the U. States. 1796 to 1805

An Act of the State of New Jersey respecting Slaves. 1798.

Address of the President of the N. Jersey Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery.

A blank certificate of Membership of the N. Jersey Society for the Abolition of Slavery.

An Engraved Miniature of Capt. Paul Cuffee.

An Engraved Portrait of Nath'l Cole, M. D., late of Burlington, N. Jersey.

From S. H. Pennington, M. D., Newark.—A Copper Centime Coin (Regno Lombardo Veneto). 1812.

From Rev. Andrew Bell Paterson, Princeton.—The Port Folio (Denny's). 8 volumes.

From the Earl of Ellesmere.—Guide to Northern Archeology, by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen, edited for the use of English readers by the Earl of Ellesmere.

From Chas. C. Rafn, Secretary of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries.—Sundry copies of an Abstract of the Proceedings of that Society. Feb. 15, 1851.

Sundry copies of "Extract des Statuts Constitutifs de la Societe Royale des Antiquaires du Nord avec la liste de ses Membres Fond a teurs.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE LOCATION OF MOUNT PLOYDEN.

THE SEAT OF THE RARITAN KING:

A PAPER,

Read before the New Jersey Historical Society, September 11th, 1851,

BY

REV. GEORGE C. SCHANCK.

FROM the highest points of land bordering on the Raritan Bay, the prominent features in the distant landscape, when looking to the West, are, as first meets the eye, the mountain range in the vicinity of Boundbrook, inclining to the North: or, inclining to the South nearly opposite, the Rock mountain, terminating at Nashanick; while further still, and looking up, the great central valley of New-Jersey—the valley of the Raritan—we see appearing with more irregular and bolder features than either of the former, the Round Mountains in the vicinity of the White House; called in former times by the Indians, Kushiunk. This mountain we suppose to have been the one designated by the English as “Mount Ployden,” mentioned in the pamphlet entitled “Description of New Albion,” published by Beauchamp Plantagenet, Esq., in 1648.

The description of this mount, as the singular and romantic seat of the King of the “Raritans,” in the days of their prosperity, before encroached on by the white man, is quoted in a note on page 24 of the work by Mr. Whitehead—“East Jersey, under the Proprietors:”—the quotation is as follows: “Twenty miles from Sand bay Sea, and ninety from the ocean, next to Amara hill, the retired paradise of the children of the Ethiopian Emperor; a wonder, for it is a square rock, two miles compass, 150 feet high, a wall like precipice, a strait en-

trance easily made invincible, where he keeps two hundred for his guards, and under is a flat valley, all plain to plant and sow."

This description in correspondence with the general character of those in the pamphlet in which it is found, is doubtless vague and romantic, and yet embracing statements founded on facts. Those of a prominent character are likely to be correct, as it is somewhere related of the author, or of the one for whom he wrote, that he spent some months among the Indians, and in all probability was at the place he describes.

Presuming, then, there is a locality answering the statements we speak of, and that, at the time referred to, the name of Ployden was applied to some prominent feature in the assumed possessions of Sir Edmund. It seems most probable, for the purpose of honoring and perpetuating his name, it would be given to such mountain as presented the most single and boldest feature in the country around; and, therefore, more likely to be the single and higher Round Mountain than the one near Boundbrook, as represented by a respected author in a handsomely written and affecting tale of Indian love, published some time since in the *Somerset Messenger*, the scenes of which was laid in the mountain gorge at that place. Again, for Mount Ployden, as the seat of Indian royalty, we must look not to the first prominent eminence that occurs in passing upward, but to a second, as "Mount Ployden is next to Amara hill."

The location of the Raritan Indians, who appear to be the same as those some times spoken of as the Naraticongs, was along and in the vicinity of the Raritan, particularly on the north side of the river; and were probably so called by the whites, as other tribes were, from the stream along which they resided, while the Indians used their own peculiar names by which they designated among themselves their several tribes.

At the earlier periods within the range of authentic history, they resided higher up on the river, and more in the vicinity of the mountains. In the "*History of New Netherlands*," it is related that this tribe occupied a rich and fertile valley, situated between two high mountains, some distance the one from the other, through which flowed a fresh-water river that disembogued in the Navesink bay, lying between Sandy Hook and Staten Island. The account of Plantagenet, written about the same time with that of the original from which O'Callaghan derives his statement, must refer to a former location of the Raritan Indians, for O'Callaghan further states that some 30 years after this (that is, after they were first known to Euro-

peans,) they were "forced to migrate from their former country, by the spring freshets which destroyed their provisions, and by the repeated attacks of the Minsi and Delaware Indians, whom the Dutch distinguished by the name of Sankhicans." It appears they moved farther down on the Raritan, nearer the whites, for about 1641 they entered into a treaty of peace with the Dutch, and which they forever after preserved unbroken, even when all the neighboring tribes raised the hatchet against the inhabitants of New Netherlands." In these subsequent times of their history, they fixed their principal seat at Piscataway, and here their kings, or two principal chiefs, Canackawack and Thingorawis resided, when in 1677, they conveyed away their lands in that vicinity.

But to recur to the account of their former seat: it is stated to have been twenty miles from Sand bay Sea. The distance to our supposed site from Raritan Bay, somewhat exceeds this; but yet in a description somewhat vague, corresponding sufficiently near. But it is further represented as ninety miles from the ocean. This distance should be considered as that part of the shore of the ocean to which this tribe was in the habit of resorting. The shore of the ocean nearer to them being frequented by another tribe, the Navesincks. The Raritans, it is stated, "came down to the ocean about Little Egg Bay and Sandy Barnegate," or what is now the southern part of Ocean county. The distance from this point somewhat exceeds, yet still corresponds sufficiently near to the situation we assign to Mount Ployden.

It is spoken of as a "Retired Paradise." No other spot within our knowledge so well answers this representation as the Round Valley, enclosed by this mountain. It is about two miles in diameter, and its general form is that of an immense bowl. Excepting one or two narrow entrances, it is entirely surrounded by a narrow ridge of mountains, rising to varying heights from about 150 to 500 feet above the surrounding country, with a very steep ascent on both sides; so as properly to be represented as a "wall-like precipice." The valley has a fertile soil and gently varying surface, and presenting from the elevated points overlooking it, a romantic and beautiful aspect. It was here, as if in keeping with the character of the place, given it by Plantagenet more than a century before, that Mr. Walter Rutherford and Mr. John Stevens, the forefathers of the respected families of that name in this State, and who at that time, in connection with Mr. James Parker, owned the entire valley, retired with their families for safety from the dangers and turmoils of the war of the Revolution.

The outlet for the small stream with which the valley is watered, is a narrow gorge on the south-west, leading down to the south branch of the Raritan, and can only be seen when looking in the line of its direction. It may be here, or at the other point of access, two hundred guards were kept to defend the abode of the Raritan King. That this valley was the former abode of Indians is evident, from the fact that to the present generation of inhabitants the tradition has been handed down, that the Indians living there were formerly numerous.

Below on the highly fertile bottoms of the South Branch, or in the plain country of the smaller streams leading into it, may be found the "flat valley all plain to plant and sow." The Indians as well as whites knew where to select the choicest lands for such agricultural purposes as they needed, and there are some traditions still preserved of Indian planting lands along the branches of the Raritan, and in the vicinity of the Mount, where we attempt to fix the former seat of Indian Royalty.

REVIEW
OF THE
TRIAL OF THE REV. WM. TENNENT
FOR
PERJURY,
IN 1742.

READ BEFORE THE "NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY," SEPTEMBER 11TH, 1851.

BY
RICHARD S. FIELD, ESQ.

REVIEW OF TRIAL.

It was in the year 1742, and while Robert Hunter Morris was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, that a trial took place at Trenton, which created no little interest at the time, and of which the most marvelous accounts have been handed down to us. I allude to the well known trial of the Reverend William Tennent for Perjury.

Mr. Tennent was certainly a most extraordinary man, and some of the incidents of his life were so strange and unaccountable, that many have not hesitated to ascribe them to supernatural agency. More especially has this been thought to be the case with regard to his trial for perjury. The Rev. Dr. Alexander, in his interesting Biographical Sketches of the founder and principal alumni of the "Log College," inclines to the belief that all the wonderful events which are recorded of Mr. Tennent, may have been the result of natural causes, with the slight exception of what happened in connection with his trial.

The only printed account of this memorable trial of which I have ever heard, is to be found in a memoir of William Tennent, originally published in "The Assembly Missionary Magazine," in the year 1808. This memoir is understood to be prepared for the press by the late Dr. Bondinot, of Burlington, but from materials furnished him by others. That Dr. Bondinot took pains to inform himself with regard to this trial, and with that view consulted the records of the court, I happen to know, for in looking over the old minutes of the Supreme Court, not a great while since, I found a note in his hand writing, addressed to the clerk, and requesting copies of all the entries in the case of Mr. Tennent. This note or memorandum was found between two of the leaves of the book concerning some of the entries, and had no doubt been laying there for nearly half a century. That a portion of the entries, however, escaped the eye of the Clerk, and were never subjected to the inspection of Dr. Bondinot, I think probable.

The indictment upon which Mr. Tennent was tried, was one of a series of indictments, all growing out of the same transaction—the alleged stealing of a horse by the Rev. Mr. Rowland. And the individual who was the cause of all the woes and perils which befel the unfortunate gentlemen who were supposed to be implicated, was the notorious Tom Bell. It is impossible to read the accounts which are

given of the cool impudence and villainy of this man without feeling some curiosity to know something more about him, or at least to ascertain what became of him, and whether he was at last overtaken by that justice which he so long eluded.

Which of the Colonies had the honor of giving birth to this distinguished personage, I have not been able to discover, nor by what course of previous training he became fitted to enter upon that career of successful villany by which he so signalized himself. It is not unlikely that the early years of one so accomplished in his way had been passed abroad, and that he was but practising here the arts which he had learned in a foreign school. Be this as it may, he certainly filled a very large space in the public eye at the time of which we are speaking. His exploits would not suffer by a comparison with those of a Jonathan Wild or a Jack Sheppard; and in this age of novel writing, when there is so great a demand for *heroes* such as he, the only wonder is that he has not been made to adorn the pages of some romance founded upon our early history. The most fertile fancy could hardly picture a more perfect villain. He was an adept in all the arts of fraud, of theft, of robbery, and of forgery. But his chief amusement seems to have consisted in travelling from one part of the country to the other, personating different individuals, and assuming every variety of character. By turns he was a sailor, a merchant, a lawyer, a doctor, a preacher; and sustained each character in such a way as for a time to impose upon the public. He had resisted every colony on the continent, and parts of the West Indies; knew every body of any note, and talked of them familiarly, as if they were his particular friends. We hear of him in Barbadoes under the name of Thomas Burnet. In Virginia and the Carolinas he figured for some time as the Honorable Fairfax Wentworth. Now he is the son of Col. Floyd, a gentleman of fortune from Long Island; and then we find him passing himself off as the son of a Mr. Livingston of New York. Now we hear of him on board of a vessel at New Castle as a merchant, robbing the captain's wardrobe, and stealing his *red* breeches; and then as one of a gang of counterfeiters of provincial bills at their log house in New Jersey. He was repeatedly worsted, but always contrived to slip through the fingers of the law. Although indicted in almost every one of the middle colonies, in some way or other he always escaped punishment. It is really amusing to see the notices which are taken of him in the newspapers of that day. You can scarcely open one of them, without the name of *Tom*

Bell staring you in the face. Thus in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of February 10th, 1742, we find the following announcement :

"Thursday night last, the notorious *Tom Bell* arrived in this city from Maryland. He pretended to be the son of a Mr. Livingston in New York. But being suspected he was sent for by the Mayor. At first he denied himself to be Bell, but the Mayor happening to remember him, having some years since committed him to Sussex Jail for Forgery, he at length acknowledged himself to be the person, and was committed to prison for want of security. He has, it seems, made it his business for several years to travel from colony to colony, personating different people, forging bills, letters of credit, &c. * * * In Barbadoes, he was the Thomas Burnet that raised the persecution against the Jews. In the Jerseys, he was the Rowland that occasioned so many prosecutions, which, ('tis said) he now owns. In Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, New York and New England, he has been Fairfax Wentworth, &c. &c. We hear that a very exact description of his person, &c., is intended to be published and dispersed thro' all the plantations to prevent further impositions."

Again, in the same paper of June 16, 1743, we find the following :

"The notorious *Tom Bell* freed himself from confinement last Saturday night, and is now taking a tour thro' the Colonies apparelled completely. 'Tis not doubted but he will take to his old practices of assuming gentlemen's names, pretending intimacy with those of note, distress by loss of vessel and cargo, &c. &c., and thereby impose on the compassionate and credulous."

In the same paper of July 14, 1743, we find a letter from New York under date of July 11 :

"Yesterday was sevensnight, the notorious *Tom Bell*, who lately made his escape from Philadelphia, was at the ferry opposite this city. He crossed over from this side early in the morning in a Pettyauger, without either coat or waistcoat, and went to a public house there, when having breakfasted, he called for pen, ink and paper, and pretended he was going to write to some of the most considerable gentlemen of this city with whom he was well acquainted, but could not see them until he was provided with clothes to appear in. He said he had lately come from sea, where he had met with misfortunes, and had lost upwards of 600 pounds, and insinuated he was the son of a gentleman of fortune at the east end of Long Island; but being soon known and challenged, he denied that he ever heard of such a man as *Tom Bell*; yet he said that whoever *Tom Bell* was, he was a man that deserved compassion, and taking his hat, he thought fit to make

the best of his way out at the back door, and is no doubt gone to play his pranks where he is not in so much danger of being known."

From the Pennsylvania Gazette of July 21, 1743.

"We hear from Long Island that the notorious Tom Bell has been playing his pranks there, and last week he was pursued and taken by a person whom he had defrauded out of some money, under pretence of being a son of Col. Floyd's, and brought as far as the ferry, where he found means to make his escape, and is not yet re-taken. He has been since seen in this city; he is a slim fellow, of thin visage, and pale complexion, and as the public has had such frequent notice, it is hoped they will take of him."

The notices of him towards the last become more frequent and earnest, and the public were evidently getting excited upon the subject. The capital letters of his name grow larger and larger, until, in a paragraph in the Penn^a Gazette of July 12, 1744, they assume a most portentous magnitude. The paragraph is as follows:

"The famous sharper, TOM BELL, being again in this city, was apprehended a few days ago, and committed to prison for an old misdemeanor." But, I take it for granted, he soon "freed himself from confinement" again.

His last appearance, so far as I have been able to trace him, is in the character of an informer against some counterfeiters who carried on their operations in New Jersey. These were doubtless the gang who were engaged in forging the bills of credit of this Colony, and which the Legislature and the Courts had so much trouble in ferreting out. In consequence of the information he gave, his accomplices were apprehended and punished, but he, as usual, was suffered to escape.

But by far the most brilliant of all Tom Bell's achievements, was unquestionably that, out of which grew the indictment against Mr. Tennent. It so happened that Bell bore a striking resemblance to the Rev. Mr. Rowland, a popular preacher of the day, the friend and associate of Whitfield and the Tennents. One evening Bell made his appearance at a tavern in Princeton, dressed in a dark grey frock coat. He then met Mr. John Stockton of that place, the father of Richard Stockton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, who, coming up to him, at once accosted him as the Rev. Mr. Rowland, and invited him to his house. Bell assured him that he was mistaken, and that his name was not Rowland. Mr. Stockton acknowledged his error, and told him it proceeded from the very close resemblance which he bore to that gentleman. This hint was enough

for Tom Bell. It at once occurred to him, that here was a chance for playing one of his best tricks. The very next day he went into what was then the County of Hunterdon, and stopped at a place where Mr. Rowland had occasionally preached, but where he was not well known. Here he introduced himself as Mr. Rowland, was invited to the house of a gentleman in the neighborhood, and asked to preach on the following Sabbath. He consented to do so, and notice to that effect was accordingly given. When the day arrived he accompanied the ladies to church in the family wagon, while the master of the house rode along side on a very fine horse. As they approached the church, Bell suddenly discovered that he had left his notes behind him, and proposed riding back after them on the fine horse. This was at once agreed to, and Bell mounted the horse, rode back to the house, rifled the desk of his host, and took his departure, leaving the assembled congregation to wonder what had become of the Rev. Mr. Rowland.

We may imagine the satisfaction which Bell must have derived from this exploit. Mr. Rowland was a noted preacher of great pungency and power, and thundered the terrors of the law against all impenitent sinners. He was called by the professed wits of the day, "*Hell Fire Rowland.*" He was literally a terror to evil doers, and, therefore, it may be presumed, an object of peculiar aversion to Tom Bell. The idea then of bringing such a man into disgrace, and at the same time of pursuing his favorite occupation, must have been doubly pleasing to him.

Mr. Rowland was at this time absent from the Colony. He had gone into Pennsylvania or Maryland, in company with Mr. Tennent, and two pious laymen of the County of Hunterdon, by the names of Anderson and Stevens, for the purpose of preaching. As soon as they returned, Mr. Rowland was charged with the robbery of the horse. At the next Term of the Oyer and Terminer for the County of Hunterdon, an indictment was preferred against him. Great was the excitement produced by this event, owing in part to the peculiar state of the Colony at this time. Through the labors of Mr. Whitfield and his associates, among whom were Mr. Tennent and Mr. Rowland, a great revival of religion had taken place in the Provinces. But there was a party in the Colony who were very hostile to this religious movement, who denounced its authors as fanatics and enthusiasts, and some of whom did not hesitate to brand them as hypocrites and imposters. Conspicuous in the ranks of this party was, I am sorry to say, our Chief Justice Robert Hunter Morris, who what,

ever other claims he may have had to respect, was certainly not distinguished either for his religion or his morality. To such men, this charge against Mr. Rowland, one of these very preachers who were turning every thing upside down, was, of course, an occasion of great triumph and rejoicing, and the most strenuous efforts were made to procure his conviction. The grand jury at first refused to find a bill against him, but they were reproved by the Court in an angry manner and sent out again. They again returned without an indictment; but the Court sent them out a second time, with threats of punishment if they persisted in their refusal; and then they consented to find a true bill. Thus Mr. Rowland was subjected to the ignominy of a trial. A clear case was made out on the part of the prosecution. A large number of witnesses swore positively that he was the identical person who had committed the robbery. On the other hand, the defendant called as witnesses Messrs. Tennent, Stevens and Anderson, who all testified, that on the very day on which the robbery was committed, they were in company with Mr. Rowland, at some place in Pennsylvania or Maryland, and heard him preach. An *alibi* being thus clearly proved, the jury without hesitation acquitted him.

But still the public mind was not satisfied. The person whose horse had been stolen, and whose house had been robbed, was so convinced that Mr. Rowland was the robber, and so many individuals had, as they supposed, seen him in possession of the horse, that it was resolved not to let the matter drop. Tennent, Anderson and Stevens were therefore arraigned before the Court of Quarter Sessions of Hunterdon, upon a charge of having sworn falsely upon the trial of Rowland, and indictments were found against each of them for *perjury*. These indictments were all removed into the Supreme Court. Anderson, conscious of his innocence, and unwilling to be under the imputation of such a crime, demanded his trial at the next Term of the Court of Oyer and Terminer for the County of Hunterdon. What evidence he offered in his defence does not appear, but he was convicted, and was condemned to stand one hour on the Court House steps, with a paper on his breast, whereon was written in large letters, "This is for wilful and corrupt perjury." The trials of Tennent and Stevens were postponed.

And now we come to a portion of the narrative, which, if true, was certainly the most extraordinary part of the whole affair, but about which, I confess, I am not a little sceptical. Tennent, we are told, being entirely unversed in legal matters, and knowing of no person by whom he could prove his innocence, had no other resource than to

submit himself to the divine will, and thinking it not unlikely that he might be convicted, had prepared a sermon to preach from the pillory. True, he had employed Mr. John Coxe, an eminent lawyer of the Province, to assist him; and upon his arrival at Trenton, he found there Mr. William Smith, one of the most distinguished members of the New York bar, who had voluntarily attended on his behalf; and his brother Gilbert Tennent, who was then the pastor of a church in Philadelphia, had brought with him Mr. John Kinsey, an eminent counsellor of that city, to aid in the defence. But what could they do for him without evidence? When Mr. Tennent was desired by his counsel to call in his witnesses, that they might examine them before going into Court, he declared that he knew of no witnesses except God and his own conscience. His counsel assured him, that however well founded this confidence might be, and however important before a heavenly tribunal, it would not avail him in an earthly Court; and they therefore urged that an application should be made to put off the trial. But to this he would by no means consent. They then informed him that they had discovered a flaw in the indictment, and proposed that advantage should be taken of it. But this he also resisted with great vehemence, saying that it was another snare of the devil, and before he could consent to it he would suffer death. In the mean time the bell summoned them to Court. While on his way to the Court House, Mr. Tennent is said to have met a man and his wife, who stopped and asked him if his name was Tennent. He said it was, and begged to know if they had any business with him. They replied, "You know best." They then informed him that they resided at a certain place in Pennsylvania or Maryland; and that upon one occasion he, in company with Rowland, Anderson and Stevens, had lodged at their house; that on the following day they had heard him and Rowland preach; that some nights before they left home they had each of them dreamed that he, Mr. Tennent, was at Trenton in the greatest possible distress, and that it was in their power, and in their's alone to relieve him; that this dream was twice repeated, and in precisely the same manner, to each of them; and that it made so deep an impression upon their minds, that they had at once set off upon a journey to Trenton, and were there to know of him what they were to do. Mr. Tennent handed them over to his counsel, who, to their astonishment, found that their testimony was entirely satisfactory. Soon after Mr. John Stockton, of Princeton, also appeared, and was examined as a witness for Mr. Tennent. In short the evidence for the defence was so clear and conclusive, that, not-

withstanding the most strenuous exertions of the Attorney General to procure a conviction, the Jury, without hesitation, rendered a verdict of acquittal; and so Mr. Tennent had no opportunity of preaching his sermon from his pillory.

This is substantially the account which is given of this remarkable trial, in the memoir of Mr. Tennent, to which I have alluded. It may seem an ungracious task to attempt to strip it of those features of the marvellous, to which it is indebted for its chief interest; nor have we, perhaps, at this distance of the time, the means of forming a very accurate judgment in relation to it. Still, there are circumstances calculated to cast a shade of doubt over our position of the narrative, to which I propose, in conclusion, very briefly to advert.

In the first place, it may be remarked, that the evidence on which it rests is not of the very highest character. Although the memoir from which it is taken was compiled by Dr. Boudinot, yet the greater part of it was in fact written by Dr. Henderson, of Freehold,* who, although a man of undoubted veracity, yet is admitted to have derived all the knowledge he possessed of Mr. Tennent's trial from his father, who was an elder of the church in Freehold of which Mr. Tennent was pastor. We all know with how many grains of allowance these traditionary stories are to be received.

That Mr. Tennent himself believed every word of it to be true, is more than probable. For although a most excellent man, and one who frequently displayed great strength and sagacity of mind, yet upon this, as upon many other occasions in his life, he never doubted that he was the subject of a direct supernatural interposition. But something more is necessary to produce conviction in the minds of others.

The account, it will be seen, is in many respects remarkably vague. It is wholly silent as to the time when the trial took place. In a note to one of the editions of this memoir, which I have recently met with, it is stated to have been not far from 1774. It was in fact more than thirty years before. Nor are the names of the remarkable witnesses given, nor the place where they resided. We are only told they came from some place in Pennsylvania or Maryland.

In some particulars, too, the account is certainly inaccurate. Mr. Tennent is represented as having at the time of his trial unexpectedly found Mr. Smith, of New York, at Trenton, who had voluntarily attended to aid in his defence; and the idea is conveyed, that his ap-

* The original Communication of the Rev. Mr. Henderson to Dr. Boudinot, is in the possession of the Society.

pearance there was Providential. Whereas, it appears from the records, that from the beginning Mr. Smith had acted as the counsel for Mr. Tennent, and that at the previous term of the Supreme Court he had on his behalf applied for and obtained a rule for a struck jury. This is an important fact in another point of view; it shews that every precaution had been taken by the ablest counsel which the country afforded to secure for Mr. Tennent a fair and impartial trial.

Then as to the two witnesses and their remarkable dream. That they had dreamed about Mr. Tennent, and that it was mainly through their testimony that he was acquitted, may be admitted. But the question is, whether it was their *dreams* alone that brought them to Trenton; whether they had not in fact previously heard that Mr. Tennent was to be tried, and been applied to, to attend as witnesses on his behalf. Upon this supposition every thing is natural and probable. They felt, no doubt, a deep interest in Mr. Tennent; they had probably been touched by his preaching; and hearing that he was to be tried for perjury, and that their testimony was essential to his defence, nothing was more likely than that he should have been the subject of their dreams, and that they should have repaired to Trenton to testify in his favor. That Mr. Tennent himself should have taken no pains to find them out, or to procure their attendance, is not improbable. It would have been altogether in character with him. Conscious of his innocence, and trusting habitually in Providence, he seems to have cared very little what men said about him, or what they did to him. He would not consent, we are told, to have his trial postponed. He refused to take advantage of a flaw in the indictment. He appeared to want a conviction. He had in fact the true spirit of a martyr. When acquitted, he may have felt a little disappointment in not being permitted to *preach from the pillory*.

But what he would not do for himself, he may have had friends who were willing to do for him. His brother Gilbert resided in Philadelphia, and had procured the services of Mr. Kinsey, afterwards Chief Justice of that Province. Mr. Smith, of New York, had probably been retained through the instrumentality of other friends. The great object, of course, was to prove that Rowland was with Mr. Tennent in Pennsylvania or Maryland on the day when the horse was stolen. And to do this, it would be necessary to procure witnesses from the place where they had been preaching. Thus, inquiries would naturally be made in that neighborhood, and thus the attendance of the witnesses in question may have been secured without any supernatural agency. Nay, it seems almost incredible, that Stevens

should not, more especially after the conviction of Anderson, have at once set off for the place after witnesses, for there must have been many there who had heard Rowland and Tennent preach.

On the whole, I am strongly inclined to believe, notwithstanding the affair from beginning to end was not a little singular and extraordinary, yet that there was nothing in it which may not be readily accounted for upon natural principles. We believe that the age of miracles has long since passed, but a century ago this was not so generally admitted. Mr. Tennent, we are informed, was firmly persuaded both of the malice and the power of the Prince of Darkness, and was wont to ascribe to his infernal agency all the evils which befel him. And certainly it must be conceded that if upon this occasion, as of old, the evil one had been permitted to vex their faithful servants of the Lord, he could not have selected a fitter instrument for his purpose than Tom Bell.

SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
WILLIAM ALEXANDER,
EARL OF STIRLING,
Major General during the Revolution.

(CONTINUED FROM VOL. V, PAGE 196.)

FROM WILLIAM ALEXANDER TO WILLIAM SHIRLEY.

NEW YORK, June 10th, 1755.

SIR :

I have just now received the enclosed letter from Robert Livingston, and think the contents of it of so great importance that I send this express to your Excellency with it ; for I don't know of any furnace in America at present in blast, where we can or could have the ball cast so as to be at Albany in time ; and I shall immediately write to Mr. Livingston to use all the means in his power to finish them.

I have just now seen Captains Broadley and Luferey under sail with a fair wind to Albany, in two sloops, with everything belonging to the vessels, and twenty-three seamen, two riggers and two carpenters men, and am in hopes the two hundred men of Sir William Pepperell's regiment will be ready to embark to-morrow ; they are furnished with everything necessary. Three hundred Jersey troops are just arrived here, the rest are to be here this evening with Col. Schuyler,* who intends to proceed immediately to Schenectady.

I am, &c.

* PETER SCHUYLER, of Belleville, who gained great celebrity for his bravery and good conduct in this war.

THE SAME TO JOHN SHIRLEY.

NEW YORK, June 12th, 1755.

DEAR SIR:

I have yours by Bourbin, with the extracts from Governors Wentworth and Hopkins, containing their approbation of your father's taking the five hundred Jerseymen with him, which I shall forward to Philadelphia with the packet for Governor Morris. I am in hopes this, and the letters your father has lately wrote to Governor De Lancey, will prevent any more stumbling blocks being thrown in the way. Most people do their duty better when they see trifling won't do.

Sir William Pepperell and Colonel Mercer tell me they have no orders to send any Guard with Captain Broadley and the Naval stores, from the carrying place to Oswego; and as I supposed that was intended by your father, I ventured to ask for them a guard, if it was only a Serjeant's, down Wood Creek to Lake Oneida. I am not assured yet that they will do that, and am much afraid that Captain Broadley will not move on without one; and I really think his being speedily at Oswego a matter of importance. I shall press this to Col. Mercer again, and if possible shall let you know the result by this conveyance.

Be pleased to make my compliments to your father, and acquaint him with the above. I am, &c.

 WILLIAM ALEXANDER TO PETER V. B. LIVINGSTON.

FROM ON BOARD MASSACHUSETTS SLOOP, }
 In the Middle of the Highlands, JULY 6th, 1755. }

SIR:

I wrote you yesterday afternoon, but as we have not yet had an opportunity of sending it, it goes herewith.

I have mentioned to the General the two brass padderoons belonging to Mr. Lewis, and he is by all means for having them; but as Mr. Lewis is some miles astern, I can't now get his order for them; yet if you can get them from his wife, be pleased to send them after us by the first opportunity, and when I see them again I will get his account of them, that you may charge them. I have also mentioned to him the wampum I took along from Mr. Hansen, which he approves of; you will, therefore, charge them to him in his private account, or account current.

We were roused out of bed about half an hour ago by our cabin roof leaking, which is the cause of my writing at this early hour. Remember me to all friends, and believe me, &c.

P. S.—Beware of O. Delancey; I suspect he has some design of quarelling with you. The sum the General is to pay to General Johnson, mentioned in my last, is £1654 13s. 7d. New York money. Send it to Mr. Stevenson to be paid to me or my order, and charge it also to General Shirley's own account. I shall have his bill for it, which I will send you.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

(Mentioned and enclosed in the above.)

MASSACHUSETT'S SLOOP, Hudson's River.

DEAR SIR:

General Shirley has engaged to pay for the Province of the Massachusetts £1600, New York money, in part of the sum which is still wanting to complete the train for Crown-point expedition, and now writes to Governor Delancey that he will on his arrival at Albany pay that sum to General Johnson, and has desired me to supply him with money for that purpose; wherefore you must by the first opportunity send me that sum in paper or silver, and charge the General's account with us for it.

I desired the favor of William Smith to endeavor to persuade his father-in-law, James Livingston, to let me have his quadrant. I proposed that when I returned, he might choose either to take it back or the money it cost him, yet I could not get it before I came away. I must beg the favor of you to get it of him at any rate. If he insists upon being paid for it now, you must do it, for I cannot do without it. I beg Mr. Smith will use all his influence to get it. The opportunity of its going and being used on the Lakes, may not offer again, perhaps, for fifty years, and surely Mr. Livingston would not willingly deprive the world so long of the knowledge of the true situation of that country. In short, you must send it to me by the first opportunity, well packed in a box. I am, &c.

THE SAME TO ROBERT HUNTER MORRIS.

FROM ON BOARD MASSACHUSETTS, }
 In Hudson's River, July 6th, 1755. }

DEAR SIR:

My last letter to you was of the 22d of June. Nothing should have prevented my writing to you since, but want of time.

General Shirley arrived at New York last Wednesday evening, and embarked again for Albany on Friday in the evening. Yesterday was a week since he left Boston; his stay at that place so long was absolutely necessary; indeed, if he had not stayed, the Crown-point expedition must have been given up; for it has been with the utmost difficulty that he has got a train of artillery for that service. That matter he has at last got settled, and it is in such forwardness that the whole of it will be in Albany in a few days. New York provides £4000 of it, and the Massachusetts £6000, and they trust to the other Colonies reimbursing them in their quotas. Of the last sum General Shirley has now, at New York, been obliged to engage £1650 at his own risk, or the matter would not have been settled.

I am in-hopes our stay in Albany and Schenectady together will not be above six days. The stores of all kind for our expedition have gone forward. Colonel Schuyler, with his regiment, is by this time, I suppose, gone from Schenectady, and Colonel Ellison about setting out from thence; for he arrived there with the whole of the regiment last Monday. Colonel Mercer with the remaining six companies, (which are about fifty each,) of Sir William Pepperell's regiment, is about three miles ahead of us on his way to Albany. Sir William we left in New York; he intends to return home as soon as his health will admit of his travelling. I mention this for fear of mistakes, but say nothing of it.

We left New York in high spirits, as we had just received confirmation of the news of Admiral Boscawen. A war now seems really unavoidable; and it is like to be new fashioned one—an army and a prodigious fleet in North America, and the English nation behaving with spirit enough to terrify all Europe. I am, &c.

PETER V. B. LIVINGSTON TO WM. ALEXANDER.

NEW YORK, July 17th, 1755.

DEAR SIR:

Since my last to you of the 12th, I received your packet by Captain William Richards. The letters for Governor Morris and Mr.

Pownall, I sent this morning. I hear Governor Morris is gone to General Braddock's army.

* * * * *

The French at St. John's, I hear, spiked their guns, destroyed their powder, &c., set all on fire, and ran away upon the appearance of Captain Rouse and his ship. The Mars, one of Admiral Holborne's squadron, is lost in Halifax harbor.

Captain J. B.* I hear, has wrote a letter from Oswego to O. D.† complaining that the person employed by the General don't take care to send him necessaries he wants; that he has no pitch nor oakum; that the vessels suffer for want of those articles; had they been sent in time he might have stopt the French from going to Ohio, &c. I know full well that he took from here as much of those articles as he demanded for one of the schooners, and suppose he left them behind, and so lays the blame on other people. Capt. Broadley carried with him 4 bbls. pitch, 4 bbls. tar, 4 of turpentine, and 10 cwt. oakum, which he thought would be sufficient for the large vessels. You may depend no good use is made of that letter. A friend of yours told it me, and desired me to write to you about it. My best wishes attend you. Make my compliments where they are due. I am, &c.

PETER VAN BRUGH LIVINGSTON TO WM. ALEXANDER.

NEW YORK, July 9th, 1755.

DEAR SIR:

I am now despatching Best. Mr. Ewing went this morning with Captain Amy in company with Sir Wm. Pepperell and Mr. Mortier. I have only time to write you that I now send by Bogardus £1654 13s. 7½d. for Governor Shirley; six ten gallon kegs with vin de grave, 10 cwt. good junk, the quadrant of James Livingston in a box, in which you will find a pair of callopers for Mr. Winder of the train. The other small articles will come to-morrow with William Winnie. * * * * *

Bogardus has the two brass padderoons of Mr. Lewis. I knew the intention of Mr. O. D. and shall be on my guard. He has given several threats, as I hear, he will make L. and A. jump mast high. By what I can find, his wrath proceeds from the letter you shewed to some of your friends. * * * * *

Your affectionate friend,

P. V. B. LIVINGSTON.

* John Bradstreet.

† Oliver Delancy.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER TO P. V. B. LIVINGSTON.

ALBANY, July 22d, 1755.

DEAR SIR :

I must steal a few moments to acknowledge the receipt of your several favors of July 9th, 10th and 11th, with the several articles therein mentioned; also the £1654 13s. 7½d. for General Shirley, which I have paid for him to General Johnson, and have his receipt for it. The way we are to be paid that sum will be thus:— There will still be wanting a very great quantity of provisions for the Niagara expedition, and the troops that are to winter on Lake Ontario, which must be immediately begun to be purchased, and I have just delivered the General a computation of what will be necessary, and expect in my next to send you his order with an account of the quantity still wanting. But the Connecticut people, as they have victualled their own troops, have no occasion for their part of the Pennsylvania provisions; wherefore they must transfer them to General Shirley to pay for their part of the Crown-point train, and they shall be delivered to Mr. Stevenson for the Niagara expedition, and must be charged with us in the same manner as if bought of any other person. * * * * * I am, &c.

PETER V. B. LIVINGSTON TO WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

NEW YORK, July 25th, 1755.

DEAR SIR :

I long to have a letter from you, having received none since you got up to Albany. Pray let me hear from you at least once a week, if you have an opportunity. The accounts we have here from General Braddock are so bad that I don't care to write you any of the many melancholy particulars we have heard. The reports have been so various, that I can't say I am able to write you what may be depended upon; only in general, that our army has met with a repulse, if not routed and defeated. Shall be glad to know what resolutions may be taken when that fatal affair is notified to the General, by proper persons in authority.

* * * * *
 Pray let me hear from you as often as you can. May the Almighty
 be your protector. I am, &c.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

NEW YORK, July 29th. 1755.

DEAR SIR:

* * * * *

By a vessel this day from Halifax, we hear that our fleet is very sickly. Several of the line are in that harbour, and have landed a great number of sick. It is supposed that most of the French ships have got up to Quebec. I shall be extremely glad to hear that you have recovered your health.

Captain Sutliff arrived here yesterday in his Majesty's Sloop Baltimore from Virginia. I hear Commodore Keppel is gone to England in a twenty gun ship.

* * * * *

Inclosed you have a copy of a list of the killed and wounded in the action of the 9th, at Monongahela, sent by Mr. Orme to Gov. Mercer, a melancholy one, indeed! I am, &c.

 WILLIAM ALEXANDER TO PETER VAN BURGH LIVINGSTON.

AT KASTLER's, within 4 miles of Burnetsfield, }
August 4th, 1755. }

DEAR SIR:

Since I left Schenectady, it was impossible for me to write to you or any of my friends in New York, for not a moment of my time has passed without the greatest hurry and fatigue. As to the particular incidents that have happened to us on the way hither, the General's reception and treatment at two castles of the Mohawks, I must defer giving you an account till a time of more leisure. But I believe we shall have about twenty Indians from those castles to join us to-morrow. We came here yesterday afternoon; a great part of our baggage and stores are already over the carrying place, and the whole would be over to day if it did not rain. We find that we shall very soon be in want of a further supply of provisions; wherefore the General has ordered me to write for 300 barrels of pork to be immediately sent up after us, which I am in hopes you will be able to effect very soon, as we secured above 200 barrels before I left New York.

* * * * * You are also immediately to send 100 barrels of rum, and two hundred bushels of salt, put up in strong barrels well hooped and nailed. You cannot conceive how things are racked to pieces by

this carriage, and how many things perish for want of being put up in the most secure manner. * * * * I am, &c.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

IN CAMP, 2 miles above Casco, }
August 7th, 1755.—6 o'clk, A. M. }

DEAR SIR:

I have but a moment's time to enclose you a copy of General Shirley's orders to Colonel Dunbar, by which you will see we are to supply vessels, provisions, &c. for the two regiments from Amboy to Albany, which I make no doubt you will see done in time on notice from Colonel Dunbar. If those regiments come as directed, which I make no doubt they will, a large quantity of provisions should be laid in for them at Albany; and the General desires you will make such preparations, that, on notice of their coming, you may be enabled to lay in there, at least, three month's provisions. The vessels that go down to take the troops in at Amboy, should have at least one month's provision put on board of them, and the vessels comfortably prepared with platforms, and every thing necessary before they go down, that no time may be lost by stopping at New York.

I am, &c.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Vol. VI.

1852.

No. II.

TRENTON, January 15th, 1852.

THE SOCIETY met at this place to-day, in accordance with the by-laws, the PRESIDENT in the Chair; STACY G. POTTS, Esq., and Hon. JAMES G. KING, two of the Vice Presidents, being likewise in attendance.

The Recording Secretary being absent, the Corresponding Secretary read the minutes of the last meeting, and then laid before the Society the correspondence since September, comprising letters from Rev. WM. ALLEN, D. D., of Northampton, Mass., Rev. EDWIN HALL, D. D., of Norwalk, Conn., and the Rev. G. ABEEL, D. D., in acknowledgment of their election as members—from Secretary of Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York; New York Historical Society; American Philosophical Society; Librarian of Philadelphia Library, &c., relating to the Society's affairs.

Rev. Dr. MURRAY, Chairman of the Executive Committee, made a verbal report of the progress of the Society during the past year. There have been added 25 Resident Members; 9 have resigned, and the present number on the books is 369, of whom 26 are Life members. There are 62 Corresponding members, and 38 Honorary members. Nothing was wanted to insure the continued prosperity of the Society, and to increase its usefulness, than to have a larger number of the members engage actively in furthering its objects.

The Librarian reported the donations received since the previous meeting, and also, that during the year 70 volumes and 221 pamphlets had been added to the Library by donation, and there were now in the collection 1415 volumes, and 1534 pamphlets. The catalogue has been completed, and arrangements have been made to have the Library open during the winter every week day evening, and on two afternoons of each week, for the accommodation of members, and others properly introduced.

The Treasurer reported a balance on hand of \$523 78 in cash; and the sum of \$1987 due the Society in arrearages. In relation to this sum, he stated that much of it may be considered as standing charged against gentlemen who have changed their residences unknown to him, and therefore cannot be reached, or who may have died, or—as is the case of a number—having been elected members without their previously expressed concurrence, do not consider themselves as belonging to the Society, yet are not disposed to notify him of that fact. It would relieve him from much trouble, were they to do so.

In the absence of Judge DUEK, the Chairman, Mr. FIELD, from the Committee on Publications, reported that, in pursuance of the order of the Society at the last meeting, they had placed in the hands of the printer, the fourth volume of "Collections," containing the papers of Governor Lewis Morris, first, in accordance with the wishes of the Society, having obtained a sufficient number of subscribers to furnish, with the funds on hand, the amount required to meet the expense of publication. The work would be completed in the course of three or four weeks. It would be embellished by a handsomely engraved portrait of Gov. Morris, from a sketch in the possession of one of the Committee, painted by John Watson, the first artist known as residing in America; the portrait placed at the disposal of the Committee by Mr. Morris of Westchester Co., N. Y., having been ascertained *not* to be of the Governor as was supposed.

The Committee submitted some of the sheets and an impression of the engraving as specimens of the work. They had nothing new to state in relation to the periodical. When it should be in their power, it would afford them pleasure to report that the condition of the Treasury admitted of its being furnished gratuitously to all the members, and it is understood such might be the case were a reasonable promptness observed in the payment of the annual dues.

Hon. JAS. G. KING, from the Committee charged with the disbursement of the Colonial Document Fund, reported that no farther intelligence had been received from Mr. Stevens respecting the Analytical Index to the Papers since the September meeting. The Committee again submitted for the examination of those members who had not previously seen them, one of the volumes or cases already received, containing the abstracts of titles and contents. This excited much attention, and received that approval which the perfectness and utility of the work must ever ensure to it.

Mr. FIELD, from the Committee on Biographies, said, that from various causes they could only report progress. Some disappointment has been felt from the little success which had attended applications made in various quarters to gentlemen descended from Jersey men distinguished in other days, for such sketches of their lives as papers in their possession, or their own acquaintance with circumstances might enable them to furnish.

The subject was subsequently referred to, and Rev. Dr. MURRAY appealed to several of the members, whose connection with the distinguished dead warranted the Society in expecting from them some written memorials of their ancestors, to aid the Committee in the prosecution of their labors.

Hon. WM. L. DAYTON in a few remarks alluded to the importance to the State of thus securing authentic information of those whose names and whose deeds were indissolubly connected with her history. No people could expect to have their history written impartially and well by strangers, and not until Jersey men exerted themselves more, could they expect to be relieved from the injurious effects of such authorship. Applications had frequently been made to him by persons out of the State, engaged in the preparation of biographical or historical works, for information of the kind referred to, but such was the paucity of materials that such applications could not be effectually responded to.

The PRESIDENT stated, that perhaps he had for a longer period of time than any other gentleman present, been familiar with the actions of the distinguished men of the state and nation. That acquaintance extended back to when he was permitted to occupy a low seat at the feet of his father in the old Confederation Congress, of which he was a member—and he retained a vivid recollection of the appearance and the sayings of many of the sages of that body. From that time to

the present his observations had convinced him that New Jersey was behind no other State in the number of distinguished men who by their valor, virtue, prudence, and wisdom had contributed to advance their country's renown. At the bar, in the pulpit, in the field, and on the ocean, the sons of New Jersey had ever reflected honor upon their native soil, and it was a shame—a burning shame, that so little should have been done to preserve their memory from oblivion.

The Nominating Committee presented a favorable report as to the names of several gentlemen which had been referred to them, and they were duly elected members. Other nominations were then received.

Rev. Dr. MESSLER presented on behalf of Mr. J. B. Thompson, some interesting Manuscript Extracts from various papers of the time, detailing the circumstances attending the capture of Louisburg, in 1758.

Rev. Dr. DAVIDSON read an interesting letter from Robert D. Morris, of Kentucky, giving some information respecting the Morris Family in New Jersey.

The CHAIR appointed Dr. Davidson, Prof. Maclean, and Dr. Messler a Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, and announced the following as the Standing Committees:

Committee on Publications—Messrs. W. A. Duer, James G. King, Dr. Murray, R. S. Field, W. A. Whitehead and Dr. Pennington.

Committee on Purchases—Messrs. W. A. Whitehead, R. S. Field, Rev. Dr. Davidson, Isaac W. Mickle and J. Alofsen.

Committee on Statistics—Messrs. J. P. Bradley, Dr. Congar, Rev. S. Starr, Abm. Browning and John Rodgers.

Committee on Nominations—Messrs. D. A. Hayes, Dr. Murray and Prof. Maclean.

The Committee appointed for the purpose submitted the following list of officers for the ensuing year, who were all duly elected:

President—Hon. Joseph C. Hornblower, LL. D.

Vice Presidents—Hon. James Parker, Stacy G. Potts, Esq., Hon. James G. King.

Corresponding Secretary—Wm. A. Whitehead, Newark.

Recording Secretary—David A. Hayes, Newark.

Librarian—Samuel H. Congar, Newark.

Treasurer—James Ross, Newark.

Executive Committee—Rev. Nicholas Murray, D. D., Elizabethtown; Hon. William L. Dayton, Trenton; Archer Gifford, Newark; Hon. Daniel Haines, Hamburgh; Hon. H. W. Green, Trenton; Richard S. Field, Princeton; Rt. Rev. George W. Doane, D. D., LL. D., Burlington; Hon. Elias B. D. Ogden, Paterson; Rev. R. K. Rodgers, Bound Brook.

The Society then adjourned for dinner.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

On reassembling, the Rev. JAMES CARNAHAN, D. D., President of Princeton College, read to the Society a highly interesting and instructive paper upon "The causes of, and circumstances attending, the Whiskey Insurrection in Pennsylvania in 1794." The subject not being exhausted in a single paper, on motion of Rev. R. K. RODGERS the thanks of the Society were returned to Rev. Dr. Carnahan and he was requested to continue it at the next meeting.

Rev. Mr. SHERMAN, referring to the circumstances detailed in the Treasurer's report, drew the attention of the Society to the provisions of the sixth article of the constitution, which provided for the omission from the register of the names of such members as declined to pay their annual dues, and offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to revise the list of the members of the Society in accordance with the 6th article of the Constitution.

The CHAIR appointed as the Committee the Treasurer and the two Secretaries.

Hon. WM. L. DAYTON, after some remarks upon the important services the Society was rendering to the State in preserving the fragments of her history, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed, authorized to draw the attention of the Legislature to the value of the Society's publications, and the propriety of securing a number of copies for the use of the State, to be distributed as that body may deem advisable.

A desultory discussion ensued as to the propriety of the measure at the present time, in which Messrs. Dayton, Field, King, Whitehead and Murray participated, after which the resolution was adopted.

Messrs. Dayton, Potts, Starr, King and Whitehead were appointed the Committee.

The Society then adjourned to meet at NEWARK, on the third Thursday of *May* next.

MEMBERS ELECTED.

JANUARY 15TH, 1852.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Isaac R. Cornell, <i>Weston, N. J.</i>	Rev. Wm. H. Campbell, D. D., <i>New Brunswick.</i>
Rev. Henry Dater, <i>Scerville.</i>	C. C. Hoagland, M. D., <i>Harlingen, N. J.</i>
S. K. Martin, <i>Martinville, N. J.</i>	Elias Molleson, <i>New York.</i>

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

James J. McCarter, Esq., *Charleston, S. C.*
 Rev. Edwin F. Hatfield, *New York.* Caleb O. Halsted, *New York.*

DONATIONS

ANNOUNCED JANUARY 15TH, 1852.

From Regents of University of State of New York.—Catalogue of Maps and Surveys in the offices of the Secretary of State, of the State Engineer and Surveyor, and in the New York State Library. Report of Canal Commissioners in answer to a resolution of the Senate of New York.
 Report of Minority of Committee on Literature, to the Senate of New York, in reference to the purchase of Webster's Dictionary,
 Report of Comptroller in relation to the State Finances, (N. Y.)
 Report of Committee on Medical Sciences and Colleges, on petition of Dr. Wm. Turner for penal enactments against bleeding.
From the Philadelphia Library Company.—Catalogue of Books belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia, to which is prefixed a short account of the Institution, with the charter laws and regulations.

Catalogue of Books added to the Library of the same, since the large Catalogue of 1835, to January, 1844.

Seven Serial Catalogues of imported Books.

From Trustees of Loganian Library, Philadelphia.—Catalogue of Books belonging to the Loganian Library, to which is prefixed a short account of the Institution, with the law for annexing the said Library to that belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia.

From William A. Whitehead.—Observations upon the Florida's, by Charles Vignoles, Civil and Topographical Engineer.

From Samuel G. Drake, Boston.—The October Number of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register.

From Rt. Rev. George W. Doane, D. D.—Bishop Doane's second Baccalaureate Address to the Graduates of Burlington College, 1851.

From E. W. Nichols, Clinton, Essex Co.—M.S. Letter from David Brearley to Capt. Jedediah Swann, dated Mount Washington, Oct. 3d, 1776, relating to pay account of Revolutionary Army.

From Rev. Henry V. Rankin, Singpo, China.—Two Chinese ornamented shells.

From John R. Burnet, Litchingston, Essex Co.—Proceedings of the second Convention of American Instructors of the Deaf and Dumb, Hartford, Conn., 1851.

From Samuel H. Congar, Newark.—The Christian's, Scholar's, and Farmer's Magazine, from April, 1789, to May, 1790.

Files of Newark Newspapers, of various dates, consisting of the Newark Messenger, New Jersey Eagle, and the Modern Spectator.

From H. H. Goodman, Cincinnati, Ohio.—Cist's Cincinnati in 1851.

SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF
WILLIAM ALEXANDER,
EARL OF STIRLING,¹
MAJOR GENERAL DURING THE REVOLUTION.
(*Continued from Vol. vi, p. 48.*)

PETER VAN BRUGH LIVINGSTON TO WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

NEW YORK, August 5th, 1755.

DEAR SIR :

Since I last wrote, I received a letter from Mr. Lewis, dated 31st July, at Schenectady, in which he says there has been a great waste in the bread by the villainy of the batteaux-men, and great damage by the leakiness of the batteaux; and he thinks more provisions will soon be wanted, especially bread. As I know not what quantity you are to have from the colony of Connecticut, which came from Philadelphia, nor what species, I am at a loss how to act, since I have no directions from authority. However, I have bought a small parcel of bread—about ten thousand weight—which is now baking. I shall send it up next week, to Albany, in bags; but as there is a great scarcity of steersmen, I dont know how it will be got to Schenectady, after it gets there. I wish you would please first write me the particular quantity of each kind of provisions I am to send from hence. There is hardly any beef in the city; wherefore it will be necessary to procure the greater quantity of pork. Bread is very difficult to be had; the demand for Halifax is very large. Most of our bakers stand still for want of stuff, so that I ought to have some time to get it in. I should think wheat ground on the Mohawk river, and only the bran taken out, and sent to Oswego in bags and casks, and baked there, would be better and cheaper than to send bread from hence.

I long to have a long letter from you with particular directions.

The Jersey Assembly, I hear, yesterday, voted thirty thousand pounds to reinforce Colonel Schuyler. Your father is gone to Jersey. Mr. Pownall is returned from Philadelphia ; I have not yet seen him. Governor Lawrence, I hear, writes that the French are in great distress at Louisburgh for want of provisions ; that if the embargo continues any time longer, they will be obliged to deliver up the keys. We are all well here.

I am, &c.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

NEW YORK, August 6th, 1755.

DEAR SIR :

I wrote you yesterday that New Jersey had voted thirty thousand pounds, which is confirmed by a letter from your father to your mother of the 5th. His words are : " The Assembly yesterday afternoon voted thirty thousand pounds for the support of the New Jersey troops with General Shirley ; which be pleased to acquaint Mr. Livingston with, that he may write Billy." Our Assembly yesterday voted thirty thousand pounds ; a copy of which vote, I am told, is already sent to Connecticut. It is said we are immediately to raise four hundred men to reinforce Colonel Johnson. Inclosed is a copy of a return which I am told Mr. Glazier brought from the army. It came to town this morning. I am, &c.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

NEW YORK, August 21st, 1755.

DEAR SIR :

On Sunday last, the 17th instant, about ten o'clock in the morning, I received your letter of the 11th by express sent by Mr. Stevenson, with the General's packet for Governor Dinwiddie, Sharpe, and Colonel Dunbar. Half an hour after, I despatched William Wood, express to Governor Morris, with the packets, who engaged to go to Colonel Dunbar, wherever he is, and bring his letters for the General to Albany, where Mr. Stevenson is to get another man to bring them to the General. Wood would not engage to go to Oswego.

Mr. Franklin writes Mr. Colden, of the 18th, that he hears Colonel Dunbar is near Lancaster, but the troops in a very bad condition, the men dispirited, some sick, most of them without shoes, stockings, or

breeches; their clothes torn in rags. I have spoke to your friends and desired them to write you, which some do by this opportunity.

* * * * *

It is reported in town that Colonel Dunbar is not coming here; that the General has wrote our Governor that he had given him other orders, of which he would send him a copy the next day. I have, however, bought some provisions for him; and the moment I hear of his coming shall lay in three months provisions for 1400 men, which will certainly require large sums of money. * * * *

I must depend on you to keep me supplied with money; without that the service will suffer. I shall not apply one shilling of it but for that use, and even contribute as much of my own as I can spare to forward the service. * * * *

If Colonel Dunbar does not come, what must be done with the thirty thousand weight of bread, pork, &c., which I have bought for that use? You say in your letter, notwithstanding anything I may hear of his not coming to Albany, I am to go on providing the provisions therein before directed. * * * * The moment I hear he is to come here, I shall lay in three months provisions for him. Our Governor says he will let me know, as soon as he hears that Colonel Dunbar is coming, what part our Province will take in transporting the troops to Albany, and where they will receive them. As to news about town, it will not be agreeable to you to write you what I hear. You know my neighbor John used to say that envy is an ill-natured vice. It is very difficult to form measures that will please everybody. The puffs you mention are industriously propagated. We are all well. I shall long to hear from you at Oswego, and hope to write you again very soon
I am, &c.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

NEW YORK, August 26th, 1755.

DEAR SIR:

William Wood, who I sent express the 17th instant, with the General's packets for Governors Morris, Dinwiddie and Sharpe, and Colonel Dunbar, is just returned. He met with the Colonel near Harris's Ferry, and stayed with them two days, while they marched towards Lancaster—near which place he left the troops. He has brought me no letter; nor can I anyways learn whether they are coming here or not. He met Abeel, express from Albany, at Phila-

delphia, to whom Governor Morris gave Colonel Dunbar's packet for the General, and told Wood he might return home. He parted with Abeel this morning at Elizabethtown, who was going to Albany, from whence I suppose Mr. Stevenson will send an express before this can reach you. * * * * *

Philadelphia is likely to do nothing but quarrel; the disputes between the Governor and Assembly run very high. Pray let me know what is doing with you. Your father has returned from Jersey. The last York act about the line is damned at home. A commission is likely to be obtained to have the line settled. The new Governor is to have an instruction to recommend to the Assembly to provide for half the charge. We are all well here. I am, &c.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

NEW YORK, August 29th, 1755.

DEAR SIR:

* * * * *

Mr. Lewis Morris is at Philadelphia for the second time since you went away. I think it would be better if he was at Schenectady to forward matters there, and take some share in the trouble, since he has some share in the profits—if there be any. I send you a paragraph of the last act of Assembly, by which you will perceive that New York will only receive the forces with Colonel Dunbar (in case they come) at this city; so that I shall be under a necessity of sending sloops to Amboy when I hear from him. * * * * * Our Assembly will meet on Tuesday. I am, &c.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

NEW YORK, Sept. 3d, 1755.

DEAR SIR:

Yesterday, in the afternoon, Sir Charles Hardy, our Governor, arrived here. He is to land this morning about 10 o'clock; the militia is to be under arms to receive him. All the news I hear is that thirty sail of the line lay ready at Spithead full manned; Lord Anson with the Commissioners of the Admiralty were at Portsmouth. Mr. Bayard tells me the man-of-war has brought twenty thousand pounds sterling for Boston, and ten thousand for Virginia; that he believes Mr. Oliver DeLancey will receive the £10,000 for Colonel Hunter. I hope you

will procure a new warrant before this money is sent to Boston, if it is to go there.

I now send to Mr. Stevenson's care a cask with limes for you, which I hope you will receive sound. Our Governor, I hear, has brought with him his sister and her husband; Dr. Shucksberry and Isaac Levy, Mr. Frank's brother, are come in the ship. Mr. Pownall's commission as Lieut. Governor of New Jersey I hear is come.

Colonel Dunbar, with the troops, is got to Philadelphia; but I cant learn with any certainty the place of his destination, though I imagine, if he has no new orders sent him lately from the General, that he will come here as soon as the men are a little recruited and clothed. I hear they are in want of almost every necessary. You will find by the last Gazette what measures some persons take to make mischief; reflections of various sorts industriously propagated. Things of that nature I will not commit to paper, but shall defer them till I see you returned with the General, crowned with success—then let malice and envy be dumb.

I am, &c.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

NEW YORK, Sept. 8th, 1755.

DEAR SIR:

* * * * *

Everything you have ordered for the Niagara expedition I have sent from hence, as beef, pork, flour, rum, salt-bags, pitch, &c. All I have to do now is to set my wits at work to procure money, and provide for Colonel Dunbar, which I shall do as soon as I hear, with any certainty, that he is coming here. Mr. Lewis Morris returned from Philadelphia last night. He has seen Colonel Dunbar, but does not know when he will come, or whether he will come here at all. He says he waits for orders from the General. We are all well except your father, who has a touch of the gout. I am, &c.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

NEW YORK, Sept. 13th, 1755.

DEAR SIR:

* * * * *

Governor Hardy goes to-morrow morning to Albany, with three of the Council, occasioned by advices from the carrying place, which

you will hear from Albany more particularly than I can write from hence. I can learn nothing as yet, with any certainty, about the destination of Colonel Dunbar. I am, &c.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER TO PETER V. B. LIVINGSTON.

Oswego, Sept. 17th, 1755.

DEAR SIR:

* * * * *

I wonder that Colonel Dunbar should be in any doubt whether he was to go to Albany or not. His orders were plain, and I am sorry that you have hesitated in sending the provisions to Albany for him, which I first directed; but I hope you will have time still to complete the whole.

I heartily congratulate you and all my countrymen on the arrival of your new Governor. I need not say that my sincere wishes are that it may make both the Governor and people happy. I also heartily congratulate you all on the good news we received last night of General Johnson's defeating the French on the 9th inst., near Lake George. It has put our camp in high spirits; and on that occasion—this evening—for we don't care to lose time in the day—we are to have a general discharge of cannon, both on board and ashore, and a grand *feu de joie* of musketry. In this vein of high spirits I hope we shall, about two days hence, embark, and soon give you something more to rejoice about. * * * *

The various characters I am obliged to act in, and the hurry I am necessarily in, won't allow me to write you often; but whenever business requires it, you may depend I shall write, and as much oftener as I possibly can. Give my love to all my relations and friends. Remember me particularly to my neighbor John; I hope he is in a fair way to *Marryland*, and tell him that envy is a low, mean vice, and that while I know I do my best, it shall never give me the least uneasiness.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER TO PETER V. B. LIVINGSTON.

Oswego, Oct. 4th, 1755.

DEAR SIR:

* * * * *

This campaign has given us full proof that batteaux are not the vessels to put soldiers in on Lake Ontario, and that whale boats

are the only small craft to be used there; wherefore the General intends to have 200 good whale boats built at Schenectady this winter; for which purpose you are to send to that place 50 barrels of turpentine, 30 cwt. of oakum, 6 casks 10d. and 25 casks 4d. nails. These articles must be sent up to Schenectady before the winter sets in, and distinguished, that they may be left there for that purpose. There must also be a tun of bar iron sent there for this use. * * *

The General has wrote to Boston for twenty whale boat builders to come to Schenectady this winter, and I should be glad if you would engage Walter Quackenbush with fifteen or twenty good carpenters to go there from New York immediately.

A vast deal of work is cut out for this winter and next spring, the particulars of which I must defer till I see you; but as the season advances which is the best for purchasing provisions, I must tell you that I think it will be of great use to ourselves and the public service, to engage at least 1000 barrels of pork, if you can, on our own account, and 1000 more of flour, to be paid for next spring. As to what we have been doing since we have been here, and the news of this place, I must refer you to William Smith, jun'r, to whom I have and shall send what will sufficiently let you into the political state of affairs; and I must desire that you will take an opportunity of showing the papers I send him to my father. Be pleased to give my duty and love to my father and mother and all friends. I am, &c.

P. S.—Perhaps you have at New York heard that I was sick. I was so, and very ill for several days, occasioned, I believe, by over fatigue; but I am now, thank God, perfectly well again, with a determination to keep so if I can.

PETER V. B. LIVINGSTON TO WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

NEW YORK, Oct. 25th, 1755.

DEAR SIR:

* * * * *

Walter Quackenboss goes up now with twenty carpenters to Schenectady. I am sorry to see by the papers you sent William Smith that there is a difference between* ———. I fear it will, in the end, prove a detriment to your very good friend. Somebody, you know who, will do all he can to ruin his interest. I hope you will steer clear. Be cautious of J. B. If I dont greatly mistake he is on the other side of the question. Inclosed you have the opinion of the Committee of Council about hiring transports. I fear I shall meet

with a great deal of difficulty in settling that account ; for, by what I can find, New York will pay no demurrage ; but only the passage from hence to Albany at 3s. per head. The sloops I expect down every day—what to do on their return I know not. I am, &c.

At a meeting of a Committee of His Majesty's Council, at the Secretary's office in the City of New York, on Wednesday, the 24th of September, 1755—

Present—Mr. Alexander, Mr. Murray, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Holland.

Mr. Alexander produced a letter from His Excellency Sir Charles Hardy, Knight, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over this Province, dated “Hudson's River, eight miles from Albany, Sept. 19th, 1755,” directed to him and the other gentlemen of His Majesty's Council at New York, which he laid before the Committee, in which His Excellency says that he had that moment received a letter from General Shirley, by which he found that General Shirley had ordered Colonel Dunbar to proceed with the troops under his command to Albany, and to save an expense to the Crown, Mr. Shirley desires that the vessels to be provided by this Province may take them on board at Amboy ; that His Excellency is sensible the act of Assembly relates only to the provisions and transportation from New York to Albany, and therefore he can say nothing on that head ; but if vessels are sent by Mr. P. V. B. Livingston to take them on board at Amboy, in order to prevent their disembarking, His Excellency desires that the same vessels may proceed with them without delay, and that the Committee would give the necessary orders to apply the moneys granted by this Province for that purpose, and do everything in their power that might expedite their passage to Albany ; and that Mr. Oliver DeLancey, who is named in the act, writes to Mr. Beverley Robinson to take the necessary steps on his part, to whom His Excellency desires the Committee would send their directions.

The Committee having duly considered the said letter, are of opinion that pilots will be wanting to carry the vessels to be sent for the reception of the troops, from New York to Amboy, and from Amboy back again to New York ; that the said pilots, and all demurrage of the said vessels at Amboy, after forty-eight hours, be at the expense of the Crown.

The Committee, considering the distance from New York to Amboy, and from Amboy back again to New York, and from New York to Albany, are of opinion that one-fourth part of the charge in transport.

ing the said troops from Amboy to Albany be borne by the Crown, and the other three-fourth parts by this Province, which said one-fourth part of the said charges to be paid by the Crown the Committee esteem a just proportion in transporting the said troops from Amboy to Albany.

Mr. Beverley Robinson and Mr. Peter V. B. Livingston attending the Committee, they were desired to procure vessels to transport the said troops from Amboy to Albany in the cheapest manner they could.

Ordered, that the Clerk of this Committee do deliver to Messrs. Robinson and Livingston a copy of this minute.

A true copy, examined and compared by

LAMB'T MOORE, D. C. Com.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER TO PETER V. B. LIVINGSTON.

ALBANY, Nov. 10th, 1775.

DEAR SIR :

* * * * *

Captain Gates† is now going to New York with his own and Captain Rutherford‡'s companies; General Shirley's company of grenadiers are also going there. You are to supply them with provisions according to the usual allowance, except rum; they are to have none of that.

I am, &c.

* Probably between General Shirley and Sir C. Hardy.

† The General, Horatio Gates, of the Revolution.

‡ Afterwards married to a sister of Mr. Alexander, and settled in America.

NEWARK, *May, 20th, 1852.*

THE SOCIETY met in its room in this city this day, in accordance with the by-laws. The President, the HON. JOSEPH C. HORNBLOWER, LL. D., presided during the sittings—the HON. JAMES PARKER and the HON. JAMES G. KING, two of the Vice-Presidents being present.

After the reading of the minutes of the last meeting, the Corresponding Secretary presented letters from Rev. EDWIN F. HATFIELD, and CALEB O. HALSTED, Esq., of New York; JAMES K. McCARTER, Esq., of Charleston; C. C. Hoagland, M. D., and Mr. S. K. Martin, in acknowledgement of their election as corresponding or resident members; from Hon. Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, Rev. Stephen Dodd, of Connecticut, and Stacy G. Potts, Esq., of Trenton, transmitting donations; from T. Russell Jencks, Esq., of Boston, and the Massachusetts Historical Society, in relation to the papers of Gov. Belcher, in the Library of that Society; from the Historical Societies of Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Vermont and Maryland, acknowledging the receipt of the Society's recent publications; from the Regents of the University of New York, American Antiquarian, and American Philosophical Societies, Smithsonian Institution, Librarian Philadelphia Library, and several individuals, referring to the Society's operations. He also read a letter from President CARNAHAN, regretting that certain engagements at Princeton, connected with his official duties in the College, would prevent his being present and reading his promised paper.

The Librarian reported the donations received—the total additions since January being 30 bound volumes of newspapers, 79 volumes of historical works, and more than a hundred pamphlets.

The donation of the Rev. Mr. Dodd, of East Haven, Conn., a native of Bloomfield, consisted of a number of valuable historical volumes and pamphlets, and a complete file (with the exception of a few papers) of the Newark Sentinel—now the weekly paper of the Daily Advertiser—from the commencement, in 1796, to the present time; no less a period than *fifty-five and a half years*, bound in volumes, and in excellent preservation. This valuable addition to the library of the Society—in itself a local history—attracted much attention.

Donations from various other individuals were interesting and valuable.

The Treasurer reported a balance in the Treasury of \$132 68.

Mr. WHITEHEAD, in the absence of Hon. Wm. Dayton, Chairman of the Committee appointed to apply to the Legislature for aid in publishing the Analytical Index to the Colonial Documents, reported that at the last session an appropriation of \$500 was made to purchase such a number of copies as, at the subscription price, would amount to that sum; and it was hoped that, as the resolution passed the Legislature unanimously, it might be considered the precursor of further liberal and approbatory measures tending to foster the interests of the Society.

HON. JAMES G. KING, from the Committee charged with the management of the Colonial Document Fund, reported that the whole amount to be paid Mr. Henry Stevens, for procuring the Analytical Index, had been remitted to him in London, and it was expected that the supplementary matter, and the preface to be prepared by Mr. Stevens, would be completed by the middle of June. So soon as received, and when the Committee on Publications might be authorized to print the whole work should it meet their approval, the cost of publication could be ascertained, a subscription price fixed upon, and the requisite number of volumes covered by the appropriation by the Legislature be set aside, subject to the order of the proper officer. In connection with the report, the Committee submitted the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That authority be conferred on the Committee on Publications to carry into effect the suggestions of this report in regard to the publication of the Index to the Colonial Documents and Preface.

Mr. KING moved that the Committee be discharged, as no further

duties seemed to be required of them; but, at the request of several, withdrew the motion.

HON. WM. A. DUER, Chairman of the Committee on Publications, reported that, since the last meeting of the Society, they had, as directed, published the fourth volume of "Collections," containing the "Papers of Lewis Morris, Governor of the Province of New Jersey from 1738 to 1746," with an introductory Memoir and illustrative notes; and had been gratified to find that the estimate formed of the value and interest of the papers, as historical materials, by those who examined them in manuscript, had been fully sustained by the criticisms which the published volumes had elicited. Members and others wishing copies might obtain them of the Treasurer or Librarian.

Believing that it is a valuable auxiliary in sustaining and promoting the interests of the Society, the Committee again recommended the Periodical to the more general support of the members.

MR. HAYES, from the Committee appointed at the last meeting to revise the list of resident members, reported that they had attended to the duties assigned to them, and corrected the list to some extent, omitting the names of such members as were known to have declined, resigned or removed; and by circulars to others whose wishes were not definitely understood, had endeavored to secure the information which would enable them at the next meeting to submit a perfect list to the Society. At present the roll contains the names of 300 resident members, besides 29 life members.

R. S. FIELD, Esq., from the Committee on Biographies reported verbally that no progress had been made, in consequence of the want of co-operation on the part of those who alone possessed the requisite information. The publication of the recent volume of "Collections" had also in some measure rendered immediate action less necessary, as the primary object in the formation of the Committee was the obtaining materials for that publication, which the Morris papers had supplied. He suggested, moreover, the propriety of devoting the funds of the Society to the publication of such of the documents to which the recently obtained Index gave a clue as might be deemed proper by the Committee on Publications; enforcing his suggestion by remarks upon the value of original historical matter.

Judge DUER, coinciding with Mr. Field, submitted a resolution to

the effect that the Committee on Biographies be discharged, and that the suggestions of Mr. F. be carried out.

Dr. MURRAY objected to the discharge of the Committee, as it was important that the Biographies sought should be obtained if possible, and its existence need not interfere with the other objects alluded to.

Mr. LUCIUS D. BALDWIN suggested that the Society should husband its resources, for it was manifest from the constantly increasing value of the library, manuscripts, and other property, a fire proof building should be secured at as early a day as possible.

The subject was postponed, to receive the report of the Committee on Nominations. Several new members were elected, in relation to whom a favorable report was made, and new nominations were received.

Judge DUER's resolution was then taken up, and after modification, passed as follows :

Resolved, That the Committee on Publications, after examination of the Index to the Colonial Documents when complete, report what papers in the public offices in England they deem it expedient for this Society to prepare for publication.

On motion of Rev. Dr. DAVIDSON, it was

Resolved, That the next meeting of the Society be held at New Brunswick on Thursday, the 2d day of September next.

Rev. Drs. Davidson, Proudfit and Cogswell, were appointed a Committee to make the necessary arrangements.

Referring to the letters which had been read from Mr. Jencks and the Massachusetts Historical Society, conveying information of the Belcher papers in the library of that institution, Mr. WHITEHEAD said that it seemed incumbent on the Society to avail themselves of the privilege so freely accorded to them, and procure copies of such of the documents as referred to New Jersey. The State possessed so little original, authentic information respecting the men who administered the government during the provincial era of its history, that no opportunity of the kind should be allowed to escape unimproved. He therefore moved the following resolution :

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be requested to have the papers of Governor Belcher, and other documents in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, examined by some competent and duly authorized person, with a view to the selection of such portions referring to New Jersey as may be of sufficient interest to war-

rant their being transcribed ; and on receiving his report, should the Committee deem it advisable to proceed, that they cause copies to be made in such a manner as may be most for the interest of the Society.

Mr. FIELD warmly advocated the resolution, and congratulated the Society on the existence of such a collection, and that the Society could have access to it. Mr. F. referred at length to the recent publication of the papers of Governor Morris, which he regarded as being by far the most valuable contribution to the history of the State yet made by the Society ; it had shed a flood of light upon points in the history of that period hitherto obscure. Governor Belcher was the successor of Gov. Morris, and one of the most popular governors New Jersey ever had—and we might confidently expect, from a collection of his letters much new and valuable information respecting his administration, and also of the condition of this and neighboring colonies at that time. In the absence of such accurate and original materials, much injustice has sometimes been done to Colonial Governors, it being impossible without them to understand the true relations existing between them and the people.

Mr. WHITEHEAD's resolution was then adopted.

Rev. R. K. RODGERS made some remarks in relation to the liberal donations received from the Rev. Mr. Dodd, and was followed by Rev. Dr. MURRAY, who closed with offering the following preamble and resolution, which were adopted :

Whereas, The Rev. Stephen Dodd, of East Haven, Connecticut, a native of Bloomfield in this State, has signally evinced his interest in this Society, by a donation of many valuable historical works and pamphlets, and especially by the gift of a complete set of the Newark "Sentinel of Freedom," from the year 1796 to the present time, be it therefore

Resolved, That the liberal donation of books to the library by the Rev. Stephen Dodd, of East Haven, Connecticut, calls for special acknowledgement from the Society, and that the Corresponding Secretary be requested to transmit to Mr. Dodd their thanks for his valuable gift.

Mr. HAYES submitted the following resolution :

Resolved, That the Committee on Publications be authorized to apply to the Common Council of the City of Newark for permission to publish such of the early manuscript Records and other docu-

ments in their possession, illustrating the history of the City and State, which may be of interest; and should the request be granted, that they proceed to publish the same as one of the volumes of the Society's Collections, whenever placed in funds for the purpose, by private subscription or otherwise.

Mr. Hayes stated that these records were of great value, and that measures should be taken to preserve them from destruction. They were already to some extent defaced, and as only one copy existed, some accident might forever destroy the sources of most of our knowledge respecting the settlement and early history of this portion of the State. He felt authorized to say that there were individuals ready to relieve the Society of the expense of publishing the work.

After some remarks by Dr. Pennington, Mr. King and others, the resolution was adopted.

The attention of the Society was drawn to a Genealogical Table of the Baldwin family, arranged upon an entirely original plan by Mr. CONGAR, the Librarian of the Society; the first progenitor occupying the center of a series of circles, each of which is appropriated to a generation, the constantly enlarging circles affording that space for the ever increasing number of descendants, which no other mode of arrangement affords.

After a recess to allow the members to examine the library and collections, the Society adjourned for dinner.

During the repast appropriate and interesting speeches were made by the Hon. WM. BEACH LAWRENCE, of Rhode Island; President KING, of Columbia College; R. S. FIELD, Esq.; Hon. JAMES G. KING; Hon. DUDLEY S. GREGORY; Rev. Dr. MURRAY, and others.

EVENING SESSION.

At 7 1-2 o'clock the Society again convened in Library Hall. Hon. JAMES G. KING,—referring to the suggestion made by Mr. Baldwin during the morning session—relative to a fire-proof structure for the Society, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That a Special Committee be appointed to enquire into the expediency, and the cost of erecting a suitable fire-proof edifice for the reception of the library and other property of the Society, and that they be authorized to confer with the municipal authorities on the subject.

Mr. KING, alluding to the value of the historical works collected by the Society, said, in substance, that although the productions of individual minds, their influence was not circumscribed by the duration of single lives, but through all time the facts they contained would have weight and importance. History depended for its value upon its accuracy—in history as in man and all things else, truth was the source of excellence—and only from original sources of information could that truth be secured. It was therefore the duty of the Society to take care that the diamond sparks which emanated from these historical memorials should not have their lustre dimmed, nay, annihilated by any untoward event. Were the alarm bell to announce to the citizens of Newark that a fire was devouring the accumulated treasures of the Society, was there one who would not be impelled to the scene in the hope that something might be rescued? and should they have to stand before a heap of blackened ashes, their only remains, would not their consciences upbraid them for neglecting to provide in season a suitable receptacle? He thought the matter should not be postponed, and he stood ready to perform whatever might be his duty in the premises.

CHIEF JUSTICE GREEN in a few remarks seconded the resolution.

PRESIDENT KING, of Columbia College, referred to the exertions made by the New-York Historical Society, to place their very large and valuable library in a safe edifice like that proposed by the resolution. Very recently that invaluable collection was in danger of destruction from fire. A historical library stood more in need of such a protection than an ordinary one, for the most valuable portions were either manuscripts or rare works which once destroyed were destroyed forever; no money could replace them. Not so with an ordinary library that could be insured, and if destroyed by fire could be replaced. The Historical Society of New Jersey had found a home—an agreeable home, in Newark, and such a building as that proposed would render its sojourn here still pleasanter and more productive of beneficial results. It could not be doubted that a city so renowned for its intelligence and enterprise would promptly coöperate with the members of the Society in rearing an edifice that would redound to its honor.

After remarks from Mr. Field and the President, the resolution was adopted, and Messrs. L. D. Baldwin, Peter S. Duryee, and John P. Jackson were appointed the Committee.

The Hon. THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, President of Rutgers College, then delivered an address before the Society—for which thanks were returned and a copy desired for publication.

The Society then adjourned to meet in NEW BRUNSWICK on *Thursday the 2nd day of September next.*

SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE AND PAPERS

Laid before the Society, May 20th, 1852.

FROM JAMES J. McCARTER, Esq.

CHARLESTON, January 28th, 1852.

DEAR SIR: Your letter, communicating the fact that I had been elected a Corresponding Member of the New Jersey Historical Society, was received this morning.

Although a citizen of South Carolina, yet New Jersey is my native State, and I feel a deep interest in every thing connected with her history, her honor, or her prosperity.

I accept the membership which you have tendered me, and shall be glad to promote the views of the Society in every way that lies in my power.

With great respect,

JAMES J. McCARTER.

W. A. WHITEHEAD, Esq., Cor. Sec., &c.

FROM CALEB O. HALSTED, Esq.

NEW YORK, January 25th, 1852.

SIR: Your esteemed favor of 21st inst. is received, advising that I have been elected a Corresponding Member of the New Jersey Historical Society.

Feeling, as every Jerseyman should, a deep interest in the history of my native State, it is highly gratifying to be thus associated with those gentlemen who are engaged in the too long neglected duty of collecting facts connected with the history of that State; whose sons ever delight to honor her.

Herewith please accept my check for Fifty Dollars, in aid of the funds of the Society.

Very respectfully, your obed't serv't,

CALEB O. HALSTED.

W. A. WHITEHEAD, Esq., Cor. Sec., &c.

FROM REV. EDWIN J. HATFIELD.

NEW YORK, January 23d, 1852.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 21st, conveying the information of my election as "a Corresponding Member of the New Jersey Historical Society."

Be kind enough, dear Sir, to convey to the Society my high appreciation of this favor, and to assure them of my deep interest in everything pertaining to the history and welfare of the State within whose territory myself and my ancestors for five generations first drew the breath of life.

Fully sympathizing with the New Jersey Historical Society in their noble plan and pursuits, it will always afford me peculiar pleasure to co-operate with them in the promotion of these objects as I have opportunity.

With sentiments of high respect,

Yours, very truly,

EDWIN F. HATFIELD.

W. A. WHITEHEAD, Esq., Cor. Sec.

FROM T. RUSSELL JENCKS, Esq.

BOSTON, Mass., April 5, 1852.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 23d ult., enquiring of Gov. Belcher's letters in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society here, came duly to hand.

I have cursorily examined the letters, and find them quite a mine. The collection referring to New Jersey commences Sept. 1747, on his arrival "after a tedious passage of 10 weeks in the Scarboro', man-of-war," at his new Government, (N. J.)

The letters are interesting: they are to his kinsfolk and friends—to his patrons and his clients. They give his impressions of the country and climate in their earlier pages, and further on they treat of his affairs with the Assembly, the raising of troops, and the allowance by the Lords Proprietors to the Province of expenses for defense, &c.

There are also found copies of his messages to the Assembly, and remarks on persons and events of private and public concernment.

The style and matter of the letters are versatile and striking, showing the man, as well as the politician and ruler; conducting the agriculture, draining and grazing of the landed proprietor, or the civil polity of national finance, and the husbanding of currency, and consulting with Franklin and Morris on connecting themselves with British resistance to "French encroachments," with Braddock's expedition, &c. &c.; thus proving a collection biographically and nationally interesting.

There are in all some six or seven volumes, foolscap size. These are all that the Massachusetts Society possesses, though only $3\frac{1}{2}$ years out of the 10 of his New Jersey Governorship. They have come through different families to the Society, and I am not aware that the missing ones are to be found elsewhere.

I have of course made only a slight examination of the collection, but will make it more in detail, should you desire it, and if you will indicate any particular points of research.

If I can do anything else in the premises, I hope you will without hesitation give me the pleasure of doing it.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obd't friend and serv't,

T. RUSSELL JENCKS.

W. A. WHITEHEAD, Esq., Cor. Sec.

FROM REV. ALEXANDER YOUNG,

Corresponding Secretary Massachusetts Historical Society.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, }
Historical Rooms, Boston, April 19th, 1852. }

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to inform you, that at a meeting of the Historical Society of Massachusetts, held on the 15th inst., your letter of the 8th was presented, requesting, in behalf of the New Jersey Historical Society, "that some duly authorized person may be permitted to make copies of such of the papers of Governor Belcher, in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as may refer to his administration of the Government of New Jersey."

Whereupon, it was voted, that the request of the New Jersey Historical Society be granted.

I have also the honor to inform you that the fourth volume of the

Collections of your Society has been received, and is deposited in the Library.

Very respectfully, your obd't serv't,

ALEXANDER YOUNG.

W. A. WHITEHEAD, Esq., Cor. Sec.

FROM REV. STEPHEN DODD.

EAST HAVEN, 26th April, 1852.

SIR: Though I am almost blind, yet I write you a few lines respecting the object of Mr. S. H. Congar's friendly visit. He arrived here last Thursday evening. On Friday we commenced packing the Sentinel of Freedom and other books in the boxes which I had previously prepared. This collection I had concluded to deposit in your Library when your Society voted to establish it at Newark. Hence Mr. Congar's arrival was both opportune and acceptable. The Sentinel contains a regular series from October, 1796, to the present time, (1852,) being about 55½ years—abating some imperfections—and all bound in 21 volumes, except the last 4½ years. To these I added 38 volumes on various subjects, chiefly of a historical character; for which Mr. Congar gave me his receipt as Librarian of the Historical Society of New Jersey.

These books I give to that Library so long as it remains in the city of Newark, out of regard to that *Ancient Township* (that part of it now Bloomfield) in which I was born, and in which I spent my childhood and most of my youthful days. But should the Society think it expedient to remove their Library to some other part of the State, it is my desire that in that case, my books should be left in trust with the Newark Library Company, in the same building, as it may be of some benefit to some of my family connections in that County.

I have made this donation for an encouragement of the noble enterprise in which your Society is engaged, and the satisfaction I have enjoyed in the perusal of the publications of the Society. I once read a remark made by King George the III^d. in an earnest conversation with one of his Lords about a state affair—"We must do as Washington and Franklin did; we must persevere!" Yes, persevere!

It may be acceptable and also useful to the younger members of your Society to notice the manner in which I have succeeded in gathering and preserving the Sentinel through so long a period. I began with this maxim: 'If this paper, or any other, is worth to the reader

\$2 per annum, it is also worth saving for future reading and reference. I may save the \$2 as easily as it was earned and paid for the paper.' The publication of the *Sentinel* began in October, 1796, about the time I left home and entered College. In 1799 I became a regular subscriber, and all my papers were carefully filed and preserved. I also went to the *Sentinel* office and purchased from the beginning all the files, and thus I commenced the binding of the *Sentinel*—the first volume containing about three years. And thus I became, by regular payment, the patron of the *Sentinel*, from the *first paper* issued by Pennington and Dodge, through all its changes of size, proprietors and editors and prices, 56½ years; and the fruits are now in your Library.

In July, 1803, I removed into Dutchess County Highlands, New York, and ordered the *Sentinel* to be sent after me, the nearest Post Office being 12 miles distant. For seven years I had to get my paper by such agencies as I could; there being no regular post of any kind between me and the Post Office.

In October, 1810, I removed into the town of Waterbury, Conn.; Post Office distant 5 miles, which I occupied the next 7 years. The same year (1817) I removed into the town of East Haven, where I yet reside. For several years, Post Office, New Haven, 4 miles, but for more than 20 years we have had a daily mail. But through the whole series of 49 years, papers would miscarry, through the carelessness of post-masters. This evil I endeavored to correct whenever I visited New Jersey, by inquiries among relatives, and by application to the files of the *Sentinel* office; but this last resource failed me twice, when fires consumed the office and all its contents. Hence, under all these difficulties, it should not be thought strange that some papers should be wanting in the files of more than 55 years; but rather that any person could afford so much expense, care and patience as to preserve so much of the *Sentinel of Freedom* to its present age. And that though some of the papers are wanting, yet it is rather matter of surprise that I have succeeded in saving so much of that interesting old *Sentinel*. May he still live to watch faithfully for the city of Newark and the State of New Jersey another half century.

During 56 years I have paid annually \$2, \$1, \$1 50; and for 49 years, 52 cents postage per year.

But, Sir, I feel a great satisfaction in the results of my care and labors, which find such an honorable, acceptable and useful a deposit as in the Library of the Historical Society of New Jersey. For after

a non-residence of 49 years, I still feel a strong attachment to that beloved State still remaining. Jersey,

“With all thy faults, I love thee still.”

Mr. Congar will of course report the catalogue of books he received here and carried with him on his way home.

I feel a strong desire to attend your next meeting in Newark, but my infirmities admonish me not to expect ever to set foot again on the soil of New Jersey. I began my 76th year the 8th day of March. The rheumatism has almost taken away my legs, and my blindness is such that I have not been able to read any book or periodical whatever since July, 1851. I have some hope of the gradual return of vision.

Very respectfully yours,

STEPHEN DODD.

P. S. Please excuse any omissions or blunders, for I am so old I scarcely know what I write.

W. A. WHITEHEAD, Esq., Cor. Sec.

OBITUARY NOTICE of the Death of ROBERT LAWRENCE, Esq.; from a newspaper of 1781. Received from Mr. James Lawrence.

“At Upper Freehold, on Tuesday, the 31st of October ult., departed this life, in the 90th year of his age, ROBERT LAWRENCE, Esq.; and the next day his remains, attended by a numerous concourse of his friends and acquaintances, were decently interred in the Friends’ burying ground there. He was bred to the profession of the law, which he practiced in his younger life; was a member of General Assembly of this State, and Speaker of the House for upward of twenty years; and highly and universally respected for his integrity, abilities and steady attachment to the interest of his country. The present revolution found him beyond the age of business and activity; but the hoary patriot, even in the last ebbings of life, would rejoice in the success of his countrymen, and pray that he might see Liberty and Independence established before he was called to his long home.”

DONATIONS

ANNOUNCED MAY 20TH, 1852.

From the Association.—Seventeenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Young Men's Association of Cincinnati. Jan. 8, 1852.

From Alexander Vattemare.—Rapport sur les ouvrages offerts par M. Vattemare au nom des differents Etats de l Americaine a la Societ  Centrale d Horticulture de France par M. le Dr. de Bouis.

Appendix to Mr. Vattemare's report on International Exchanges, Nov. 16th, 1851.

From B. F. French, Esq.—Correspondence relative to the New Orleans Free Library.

From Beach Vanderpool, Esq.—Report of the Registry and return of Births, Marriages and Deaths in the State of New Jersey. 1852.

From Mr. W. W. Kendall.—A Brief History of the early Settlement of Fairfield County, being the substance of a Lecture delivered before the Lancaster Literary Institute, with additional facts. By George Sanderson, Esq.

From the Regents of the University of the State of New-York.—Catalogue of Maps and Surveys in the Offices of the Secretary of State, of the State Engineer and Surveyor, and in the New-York State Library.

Annual Report of the Canal Commissioners of the State of New-York. 1852.

Report of the Select Committee of the Assembly of 1851, appointed to examine into the affairs and condition of the State Prisons of the State of New-York. 1852.

Annual Reports of the State Engineer and Surveyor—of the Comptroller—the Commissioners for embodying in a single act a Common School Code—the Commissioners of the Canal Fund, and the Auditors of that department—the Executive Committee of the State Normal School—of the Superintendent of the Banking Department—of the Trustees of the Astor Library—of the Commissary General—the Treasurer—the Inspector General—and of the Adjutant General of the State of N. Y.

Report of the Commissioners appointed to superintend the Completion of the publication of the Natural History of N. York.

Annual Message of the Governor of the State of N. York.

The Documentary History of the State of New-York. By E. B. O'Callaghan, M. D., Vol. 2, Quarto.

Laws of the State of New-York, passed at the 74th Session of the Legislature.

Journal of the Senate and Assembly of the State of N. York, at their 74th Session. 3 Vols.

Documents of the Senate and Assembly of the State of New-York. 74th Session. 8 Vols.

From the Navy Department.—Navy Register of the United States for the year 1852.

From Joseph C. G. Kennedy, Esq.—History and Statistics of the State of Maryland, according to the returns of the 7th Census of the U. States, 1850. Prepared under the direction of the Sec'y of the Interior, by J. C. G. Kennedy.

From the United States.—Executive Documents—Senate and House Journal and Miscellanies of 2nd Session, 31st Congress. 21 vols.

From the Rev. Stephen Dodd.—Campaign of General Buonaparte in Italy, during the 4th and 5th years of the French Republic. By a General Officer. 1798.

Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition to the mouth of the Great Fish River, and along the shores of the Arctic Ocean in the years 1833, 1834 and 1835. By Captain Back, R. N. Commander of the Expedition.

Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, Lake Winnepeg, Lake of the Woods, &c., &c., under the command of Stephen H. Long, Major U. S. T. E. 2 vols., 8vo.

An account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, and through the Western Parts of Louisiana, &c. By Major Z. M. Pike.

The History of the French Revolution. M. A. Thiers. 2 vols;

A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs. By the Rev. Jedediah Morse, D. D.

The History of Printing in America, with a Biography of Printers, &c. By Isaiah Thomas. 2 vols. 8vo.

A voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World, under the Command of Capt. George Vancouver. 6 vols. 12mo.

A Memoir of the life of William Livingston. By Theodore Sedgwick, Jun.

American Annals, or a Chronological History of America. By Abiel Holmes, D. D. 2 vols. 8vo.

A History of the District of Maine. By James Sullivan.

A History of the Original Settlement of the Delaware. By Benjamin Ferris.

The History of America. By William Robertson, D. D. 2 vols.

The History of Pennsylvania. By Robert Proud. 2 vols. 8vo.

An Historical Review of Pennsylvania from its origin. By Benjamin Franklin, L. L. D.

The History of Virginia from its First Settlement By John Burk. 2 vols.

The History of North Carolina. By Hugh Williamson, M. D., L. L. D. 2 vols. 8vo.

The History of South Carolina from its first settlement, in 1670, to the year 1808. By David Ramsay, M. D. 2 vols. 8vo.

The History of Kentucky, its Discovery, Settlement, &c. By H. Marshall. 2 vols.

The Federalist, on the New Constitution. By Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Madison.

Trial of Levi Weeks on an indictment for the Murder of Gulielma Sands. A. Hamilon, B. Livingston, A. Burr, Esqs., counsel for the prisoner.

The Rights of Great Britain asserted against the Claims of America, being an Answer to the Declaration of the General Congress; said to be written by Lord George Germain. 1776.

Revolutionary Memorials, embracing Poems by the Rev. Wheeler Case. Edited by the Rev. Stephen Dodd.

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From the Librarian of Yale College.—A Historical Discourse pronounced before the Graduates of Yale College, by Theodore D. Woolsey, Aug. 14, 1850.

President Woolsey's Sermon on the Death of Albert Hebard 1851.

From the Author.—A Reply to the Strictures of Lord Mahon, and others on the mode of editing the Writings of Washington. By Jared Sparks.

From the Author.—A Farewell Sermon, Preached in the First Presbyterian Church at Princeton, N. J., April 4th, 1852. By Wm. E. Schenck.

From the Author.—Progress of the City of New-York, during the last Fifty Years; with notices of the principal Changes and Important Events. By Charles King, L. L. D.

From the Author.—Romanism at Home. By Nicholas Murray, D. D.

From the Author.—Historical Collections of Louisiana, embracing translations of many rare and valuable documents, with Historical and Biographical Notes, and an Introduction. By Benj. F. French. Part III.

From Dr. L. A. Smith.—The Duty of Public Usefulness. A Sermon by Robert Little, Preached in the Capitol of the U. States, Feb. 16, 1823.

The Wonderful Works of God are to be Remembered. A Thanksgiving Sermon, by David Osgood, A. M. Nov. 20, 1794.

Bishop Brownell's Election Sermon. May 1st, 1822.

The Simplicity of the Gospel Defended in a Discourse delivered in London in the year MDCXLI. By Samuel How.

The Good Land We Live In. A Sermon delivered July 7th 1802. By the Rev. Stanley Griswold.

A Discourse delivered at Hartford, Feb. 22, 1800, on the day set apart by Congress, to pay a tribute of respect to the memory of Washington. By Abel Flint, Pastor of South Church, Hartford.

Oration in commemoration of the nativity of Washington. By Isaac C. Bates. 1812.

The Sacred Origin of the Jewish and Christian Religions, in three Sermons, by Robert Little. 1823.

A Reply to Andrews's Strictures on Brooks's Essay in favor of Christian Communion. By Charles Brooks.

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Address of the Associated Ministers of the Southern District of the County of Hampshire. 1810.

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From David A. Hayes, Esq.—Tickets in the Elizabethtown and New-Brunswick Church Lottery, and Newark Academy Lottery. 1793.

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From Rev. N. Murray, D. D.—The Weekly Museum, from Feb. 16, 1793 to Feb. 22, 1794.

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From Mr. Robert Crowell.—The Orange County Patriot, or Spirit of '76, from 1808 to 1828, in nine bound volumes.

MEMBERS ELECTED.

MAY 20TH, 1852.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Rev. Chas. W. Nassau, D. D., *Lawrenceville, N. J.,*
 " C. S. Henry, D. D. *Oakwood, near Belleville, N. J.*

CORRESPONDING MEMBER.

Wm. C. Dusenbery, *New-York.*

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Benjamin Franklin French, *New-York.*
 Hon. Wm. B. Lawrence, *Newport, R. I.*

THE USES AND BENEFITS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

A Paper read before the New-Jersey Historical Society.

May 20th, 1852.

BY HON. THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, LL. D.,

History presents some of its most useful results in the lessons it furnishes on the course of Divine Providence, and in the light which it sheds on the character of nations and of men. It has been called philosophy teaching by experience; and such, in many respects, is the relation which it maintains.

Resting on a great moral truth, that human nature, under all the diversities of condition and cultivation, is radically the same, there can be no period in the whole range of historical memorial that may not be of useful application. Whatever differences may exist, they are traceable to divers influences, and the study of these becomes as interesting as the primitive types of character. The leading facts concerning any particular age, are the materials out of which are drawn some ruling principles of prudence or policy. And here we perceive the injustice of a disposition to undervalue the agency of a Historical Society. As it deals so much with dust and cobwebs in its researches after neglected and forgotten materials, a superficial thought is apt to regard it all as of little value. But sober reflection will correct this prejudice.

History, to be useful, must be not only strictly true, but extensively and even minutely faithful. Circumstances often so modify the character and bearings of important events, that all of them should be regarded, especially in the first records that form the basis of a regular history. The province and scope of history, it should be remembered, are with *matters of fact*, not what might or should be, but what *has been*. She deals with realities, and therefore no care or pains, no toils among dusty folios, and down into the deeps of worm-eaten and weather-beaten loads of garret lumber and cobwebbed bundles, should be held unbecoming or misdirected. For the *Past* lives among these forbidding masses of pamphlets and correspondence; and if we had no patient, long-tried virtuoso, content and ever pleased with such investigations, we should never have a volume to preserve the treasures, that wait to reward the toil-worn student of the last hundred years.

The sacred history of the Bible forms the best model after which a Historical Society should construct its system of operations in collecting materials and collating facts.

Here we have in the first place a general account of the origin of the world, of men and of nations; and then in the order of events, the calling and separation of a peculiar people, their laws and customs, and the providences of God towards them through a long cycle of 1500 years to the captivity. On looking into the sacred records, two matters are of striking notice: the brevity, and the fulness of the account. The volume of a spelling book will contain the whole history; and yet what wonderful fullness—what and how many strong and instructive points in the habits, arts, commerce and institutions of this peculiar people.

The distinctive character of their rulers, judges and kings are given, with frequent and occasional episodes, bright by the development of some exalted individual excellence; as Joseph's unshaken purity, Judah's inimitable plea and generous purpose, David's sin and his penitence; Abraham's faith, in its strength and its infirmity, and Job in his patience and despondency.

The comprehensive brevity of the Bible may be readily seen and admired in the 2d chapter of Genesis. Here (and it is only one column and a part,) are to be found the institution of the Sabbath, and the reasons for it, its law and objects; the garden planted, its locality and its occupants; and we may pause on the suggestive fruitfulness of thought, that is quickened by the great law of marriage: "Man is to leave his father and mother and cleave unto his wife, and they twain to be one flesh." We perceive the basis of the family relation, and the spirit of the sacred bond that forms it. A man is to cleave unto his wife, before his father's house—before the home of his childhood, that dear spot of tender memories—all to be left for her; "and they twain to be one;" the union to be sacred, intimate and perpetual; in sympathies, sorrows, tears and joys, one; a communion in cares and perplexities, in sunshine and storm, abroad and at home, around the hearth-stone and the altar. And all this is clearly indicated by a single short line, in which the *Family* rises in its incalculable importance on the social and civil interests and hopes of men. Some profound observer once said: "Give me the popular ballads of a pastoral people and I will control the public sentiment; let me thus participate in forming the minds of the women, and I'll rule the men." He might have added, with increased emphasis, "let me reach the households of

a nation, let the influences which I may bring, have a clear and unobstructed way to the family circle, in its early and impressible relations, and I will wield the laws, and under Heaven, the final destinies of that community." The marked lines of history are formed by the individual and social condition and character of men. You may often learn the neighborhood through the men who have dwelt there, and the opinions held and cherished, as you tell the man from the company he keeps. Thus history philosophizes safely and instinctively; the foundation is reliable, and the deductions just and wise. Nor can any fact or incident, however seemingly unimportant or even trifling, be despised; for such often link themselves with large and long-reaching influences.

To illustrate my meaning, in the Bible history the name of the mother of a King is given without comment. This often occurs. To many it may seem a trifling memorial; yet when you look more nearly into the character of the King, you are often constrained to recognize the law of a mother's sway over childhood, in mind and morals; and a little nearer observation will often detect a wicked woman in the mother of a wicked King. Sacred history has by design placed them in such close connections, for profitable reflection and study. Another view of the subject more vividly confirms the proposition that nothing in the regular out-goings of events should be disregarded. Other times or other researches may and usually do evince some important relation and bearing of that which may be contemned or ridiculed to-day. We have shuddered in the recital as Robespierre, the type of all that is fiendish in purpose or ferocious in crime, comes up, like a blazing comet, to aggravate the horrors of the French revolution. And yet, take his name along in your researches, and you will find the origin of the monster in the elements that wrought up that tempest of blood and fire. A people that can shut up the Bible and the temples of God; that can blot out the Sabbath, and strive to believe that virtue is a delusion, and death an eternal sleep, will *produce* monsters like Robespierre, at all times and in all places; the progeny is as congenial as the spawn of the viper. Robespierre thus becomes a historical problem; and the existence and influence of such a monster are the lights furnished to prepare a chapter teeming with moral instruction, and that leads to the solution of many interesting questions. The laws of truth and virtue take a firmer hold of our convictions, when such inevitable results follow the violation of their claims.

Turning to more pleasant aspects of the subject, the relations of the father of his country, in his political and private character and

virtue, to the people that honored and revered him while living, and hold among their sacred treasures as dead, are all instructive. Mr. Gallatin once sagely remarked, that the American people should not *only tolerate but glory* in such a pure, bright name as WASHINGTON, was their best witness; and Washington, be it considered, grew into the maturity of his exalted character under the encouragement of kindred sympathies and high thoughts around him. The crowning virtue of Washington was the *purity of his patriotism*. He denied and forgot himself because he had given himself to his country. He had staked all on her destiny. Yet his compatriots, with hearts glowing with the same immortal fires, had also devoted themselves, life, fortune and sacred honors, on the same altar; and the *people*—three millions of people—men, mothers and daughters, had come into the pledge, and bound it round their hearts. He threw before them a noble purpose, sublime in virtue; it fell on congenial spirits, and as it was reflected, brought with it an increase of vigor and steadfastness.

Allow me, on this feature of our eventful history, to glance at two affecting incidents that belong to the Revolution. After the British troops took possession of Boston, the purpose came up before the old Congress to burn and destroy the city, and thus drive out the enemy, and thus also give a demonstration to Great Britain of the character of the people that she deemed to be of such easy subjection. When the scheme (afterwards relinquished) came up for deliberation, John Hancock rose in his place and said: "It is true, as has been delicately intimated, the most of my worldly substance lies in Boston, but if the interest of my country calls for the sacrifice, *pass the vote to burn it.*" I have often thought you could almost perceive this noble, high-souled patriotism of the man, in that bold, broad hand which he set to the Declaration of Independence, as if he said, 'There is my name, and that is my purpose; no man can mistake them.'

Another incident: at the darkest period of our struggle, while Benjamin Franklin was in Paris, anxiously laboring for his country, an English friend of his wrote a private, confidential letter, kindly admonishing him of the perils that seemed to thicken around him, and hinting to him the prudence of a timely concern for his own safety. The Doctor, with consummate address, and in his frank way sent him a brief note, characteristic of the man, as the following extract will show: "I thank you for your kind caution, but having nearly finished a long life, I set but little value on what remains of it. Perhaps the best use such an *old fellow* can be put to is *to make a martyr of him.*"

(3 Diplom. Cor., pp. 40, 41.) From these occasional sparks we can form a just sense of the temper that animated, directed and sustained the American mind in all that long, patient and never-flinching contest with the mother country.

Here are facts, few, strong and unmistakeable, and out of them history may form many fruitful chapters. And so, too, the Declaration of Independence is a material which volumes would not exhaust, in the inquiries to which it prompts. The signers, their localities, their education, who trained them, and how; how they stood with their respective communities. All such details are important, as they make up a mirror by which the men are learned, in their early trainings and in the circumstantial influences that clustered around them and helped to shape the issues of life for them.

Historical memorials, should they not, as to matter, reach beyond our own State, may be indefinitely extended. It may and should be pushed into her neighborhood history, and bring to light the men of influence that have given the tone to opinion, and the complexion to manners and character. It would form a most interesting record thus to map out even the villages and towns of our State; who dwelt in them, their professional and political relations, what principles guided their conduct, and the measures, if any, that grew up under their fostering care. Thus would the sound philosophy of morals be best illustrated, and its great laws confirmed and enforced. Hereby, too, we should be the better able to trace up our own to other times, and to the men who stood the nearest. The manners and spirit of our people can be in large measure explained by the lights of our history. And the exposition becomes clearer by bringing into the account the diversified and yet healthful influences of our primitive elements—the Dutch, the Friends, and the Old and New Englander. The first, slow but steadfast; the second, kind and calm; the third, earnest, onward, active, and calculating to suffer and to *die*. While the one may in its tendencies urge too fast, the other may pause too long, and the other come to an absolute stand; yet we shall perceive that by a benignant combination, a considerate, enterprising and prosperous activity has been the happy product of them all.

This *onward* propensity of the New Englander has been fruitful of immeasurable benefit, and that the *Great West* was the range of his purposes, as undefined as the practical meaning of the terms. Once these words found their interpretation in the Lakes of New York, then the Miamis of Ohio, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri,

Oregon and California ; and now as far as steam and compass can guide and bear the restless adventurer. And when he comes round from the rising sun in his circumnavigation, if he does not tempt another planet, it will be simply because no bark can carry him. We cannot give time to mix these elements to-day ; but it certainly seems that in their combination we might satisfactorily furnish the chief outlines and the ruling features that go to form a regular and proper Jerseyman. New Jersey, and all west of us, stood in need of just such impulses as the east sent over. They woke us up, and roused to energy and industry and emigration, enterprise at home, and hardy courage to face difficulties, to build log cabins and live in them abroad.

We could not well name a more apposite or seasonable illustration of the truth of many of these suggestions than is furnished by the place where we are now convened. The character, early habits and ruling principles of the emigrants who first peopled this and the surrounding towns and villages, should all of them be carefully gathered up and faithfully preserved if we would learn ourselves and be qualified to instruct others concerning the nature of man, as an individual and in his social and political relations, and concerning also those unchanging moral laws which God has ordained should run on in their issues from generation to generation ; the harvest known often to be foretold by the seed sown—they who sow the wind reaping the whirlwind, with fixed, unalterable and everlasting certainty. And by this local scrutiny we should learn many of the causes that have contributed to distinguish this whole district for its intelligence, love of order, reverence for authority, and sound and fervent piety.

The existence of so many religious denominations in our State, dwelling together in fraternal unity ; their origin and numbers ; the condition of our Colleges ; the numbers brought together from the several States, of great diversity in temperament and tendencies, their mutual and common influence exerted while together, and borne back to their homes. In truth, time would fail to refer, however hastily, to the thousand aspects in which the subject rises to consideration. A little industrious carefulness now bestowed, will preserve these masses of historical materials for future and profitable uses ; while a few more years of neglect and time will have doomed them all, and leave to posterity nothing but an unavailing regret.

Perhaps at no period of time has there been an era of more fruitful and stirring events than the last fifty years. To look back upon them

as they rise to astonish often, even now, tasks our sober faith. So many of them crowded into so short a space. The steamer on land outstripping the steamer on the water; and the Telegraph casting both far into the distance. To paint with the light, and to send news by the lightning, can hardly yet be held within the grave compass of reality. We were—many, I mean—at first strongly tempted to refer it to some witchery behind the curtain. The mind is prone to such weaknesses. We love the marvellous; we would, if we could, make a wonder or a token out of the crowing of a cock or the howling of a dog. We love to, or did in other days, and not far behind, (it belongs to history,) to invest a poor old woman, withered by age, infirmities and sorrows, with some potent charm, and charge all the ills of a neighborhood upon her magic power. And nothing has so much corrected these illusions as the progress of science. So true it is that knowledge always expels the false lights of superstition that hang on the borders of ignorance.

Looking out into broader relations of the subject, we can very clearly perceive in the history of the early settlement of this country what wonderful connections seemingly unimportant facts hold with lasting and far-reaching consequences. A reference to a few of them will afford abundant proof. The times in which the Puritan pilgrims left the old and reached this new world, was then probably deemed to be of little moment; and yet these dates open to us the character of the British nation, the spirit of the people and of the emigrants. We turn to the chapter of their politics, pursuits and habits, their struggles with power and their thirst for civil and religious liberty.

So again as we look through the 17th century to the beginning of the 16th, *the Reformation* rewards our researches with its rich and fruitful memorials. And a little farther back, we come to the *Mariner's Compass* as an intrepid agent to track the Ocean, and be the guide of the sailor when the stars go out. And next, the *Printing Press*, to penetrate the depths of time and shed the light of the Past upon the generations to come. What thrilling events, what influential moral causes, connect themselves with the great aims of history, as a faithful chronicle. The *Reformation*, the *Compass*, and the *Press*—these mighty agencies of Divine Providence were prepared at the times and in the order of succession best adapted to fulfil the counsels of Infinite wisdom.

That this Puritan colony, thus instructed and trained at home for hopeful enterprise, should have stopped for a season at Holland, would

have raised a smile to name it to a superficial observer. ‘What of it,’ he might say; ‘it lay in their way; why should we stop the story for any Dutch port?’ History, more considerate, looks out from the deck of the Mayflower, at that eventful period, and rejoices to find there a kindred spirit of enlightened freedom, full and strong—a spirit that was to fight its way and nobly resolve to die in the last ditch, on its purposes. Holland was the fit resting place where the pilgrim might drink at the fountains, recruit his powers and refit his armor for the trials that awaited him. And *time* has instructive relations to the American side of the picture. Here, at that period, lay a continent where none but savage men and prowling beasts had a dwelling-place. There was no pre-occupation of this vast territory that could seriously thwart or disturb the freest experiment. It might truly be said of the Pilgrims that they had the world before them, where to choose, and Providence their guide. And lastly, the place where they landed, is of rich historical interest. The rock of Plymouth, on an iron-bound coast—a dreary wilderness—a cold, forbidding winter—the war-whoop and threatening tomahawk of the savage—it is true that all these are mere circumstances; and incidents of such character always or generally attend immigration. No change of place can well be without them, or some of them. Very true; and no change of place, of a people or a colony, can be unimportant in some of its bearings. Had they landed at Virginia or Georgia, or even at Cape May, the whole character of the people would have been modified. The stern northern winter, the surrounding savages, the unfriendly soil, all combined to train up a hardy, self-disciplined, self-denied race of men, of the right mould for difficult enterprise and daring exploit in the great scheme of Christian civilization; just such men as should people New England, and send out their children all over the West, to mix in and prepare a nation of freemen, fearing God and loving liberty.

This very brief and imperfect sketch will evince the importance of such simple matters as dates and seasons, climate and soils, and how much they may contribute to enlighten us in the causes that lead on to the broadest and most lasting consequences.

SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF
WILLIAM ALEXANDER,
EARL OF STIRLING,
MAJOR GENERAL DURING THE REVOLUTION.
(*Continued from Vol. vi, p. 64.*)

PETER V. B. LIVINGSTON TO WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

NEW YORK, Nov. 17th, 1755.

DEAR SIR :

Your letter of the 10th instant, Captain Gates did not deliver before yesterday at 12 o'clock, though he arrived here on Saturday. I have been all this day looking out for the articles you order to be sent immediately. The blankets are not to be had in town. I have bought a few rugs, and shall buy as many more as I can get. There is not one hogshhead of New England rum or New York rum in town ; I shall be obliged to buy West India, if to be had, and send it up in hogshheads, for I can't get barrels made in three weeks. I can't find any quantity of pork in town, and must stay till it comes to market. I have bought eighty barrels of powder, and shall buy the other twenty if I can ; but how to pay for these or the other things I have bought, I know not. Mr. Johnston has paid me more than ten thousand ounces in marked silver, which I can't put off ; and the other warrant is paid in Boston, and not a shilling of the money here. There is now, I judge, ten thousand pounds sterling in gold in the military chest in my house, chiefly Portugal money ; but I can get none of it. I am, &c.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

NEW YORK, Nov. 19th,, 1754.

DEAR SIR :

I have very little money left, and shall be out in a few days.

* * * * *

If possible, send me a warrant for at least five thousand pounds ster-

ling, without deduction, on Mr. Johnston. He has above ten thousand pounds in gold in the military chest in my house. Captain Shirley is extremely ill. If no speedy alteration, I fear we shall lose him, which I do assure you will affect me very much. I am, &c.

HENRY VAN SCHAAK TO WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

NEW YORK, February 10th, 1756.

SIR :

My former acquaintance with you I hope will apologize for the freedom of this letter. The last summer's campaign has given me some inclination for military life, so that I am now determined to enter into his Majesty's service the ensuing campaign, provided I can get such an employment as will answer; wherefore I must beg the favor of you, that if anything should offer that you think will do, to mention me to General Shirley, to whom I hope my behaviour in the engagement with Captain McGinnis last summer, with your interest, will serve as a recommendation to get me something for my advantage. Should nothing offer in the army, I should be very glad of having the transaction of some business in Albany, for the faithful performance of which I could give you undoubted security, if required.

I take this opportunity to congratulate you on your promotion. With my best wishes for the continuation of your health, I am, &c.

P. S. If you direct to me, I reside at present at Kinderhook.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER TO WILLIAM SMITH, JR., AND WM. LIVINGSTON.*

BOSTON, March 1st, 1756.

GENTLEMEN :

General Shirley having received information from several of His Majesty's officers recruiting at New York, and in the more western governments, that they have been arrested and imprisoned for enlisting and entertaining indented servants and apprentices, and that others of them are threatened with the same treatment, has therefore

* These gentlemen, who seem to have been associated in their professional business, were separated by their political principles at the Revolution; after which, the one became Chief Justice of the Province of Canada, and the other the first Governor of the *State* of New Jersey. They had both studied law with James Alexander.

ordered me to write to you and to desire your acceptance of a proper fee in behalf of the Crown, to defend all such officers as shall, in the Province of New York, be sued on that account; and in case any of them are proceeded against so far as to be imprisoned, to put in proper bail to release them, (but not before they have been imprisoned twelve hours at least,) and that you will take such other steps as are necessary for obtaining a final determination of the matter before the King in Council.

I have wrote to Mr. Peter V. B. Livingston to provide bail whenever you shall let him know that it is necessary, and to wait 'on you with the fee the General has ordered. I shall inclose to a copy of a letter which the General wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania, on this subject, by which you will see his sentiments about this matter.

I am, &c.

THE SAME TO COLONEL OTIS.

Boston, March 2d, 1856.

SIR :

I received your letter of the 15th ult. last Wednesday, and have unavoidably been so hurried that I have not had a moment allowed me to answer it, till now.

I am glad to find that both Captain White and Captain Allen were in so great forwardness with their batteaux-men, and hope they will make no delay in embarking for New York, as I shall now fully answer the objection they met with from their men, and explain what they seem to misapprehend in the General's proclamation.

As to whale-boats, if you judge more are wanted than what we agreed upon, you will be pleased to supply as many as you esteem necessary to transport them and their baggage. By the General's proclamation, it is plain that the batteaux-men were to enter into pay from the time they embark or set out for Albany, and consequently are not entitled to the allowance of provisions, &c., usual in the army, until they do set out. It is also plain by the proclamation, that they were to receive, upon being mustered at Albany, twenty days' allowance; that is, twenty days of their pay from the time of their setting out, and not bounty money, as they seem to misapprehend it. But to make the matter easier to the men, I enabled you to pay their advance money before they set out. On these terms, all the compa-

nies that have been completed here and at New York are engaged, and are very well satisfied therewith. The allowing them provisions and rum sufficient to carry them to New York, is what they certainly are entitled to, and is what I imagine I gave you sufficient authority to supply them with; wherefore you will also be pleased to do that.

How the Captains came to understand that the advance money was intended to them as levy money, or that they are entitled to a dollar a man for that service, I can't tell; but there is no such thing in the proclamation, nor was it intended. They may depend they shall fare as well as the rest of the companies; and they may also depend that whatever is reasonably their own, they will have; and I doubt not, as the pay in this service is so much superior to any other, it will be quite agreeable to them. As to their receiving their pay from you, I told you I think before, that if any of them will give orders on their Captain to pay you their wages, and on such orders being produced to me, I will order the money to be paid you at Boston by Mr. Erving. This is a thing that provides new trouble to me, but anything of that kind I will do, to make it convenient to the men. Whatever you advance agreeably to the above, shall be repaid to you by Mr. Erving, and this shall be a sufficient draft on him for that purpose.

I am very much obliged to you for the trouble you have and are taking in this affair. Such public spiritedness I hope will be rewarded by suitable public benefits. I am, &c.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Vol. VI.

1852.

No. III.

NEW-BRUNSWICK, *September 8th*, 1852.

THE SOCIETY convened to-day in this city, in the 2d Presbyterian Church, at 12 M., the Executive Committee having postponed the meeting from the 2d, the day originally designated, in consequence of that having been selected for another public meeting, interfering with the attendance of the members.

The Chair was taken in the absence of the President by the Hon. JAMES G. KING, one of the Vice-Presidents, who, subsequently, relinquished it to another—the Hon. STACY G. POTTS.

After the reading of the minutes of the last meeting, the CORRESPONDING SECRETARY submitted the correspondence since May, comprising letters from Hon. WM. BEACH LAWRENCE, of Rhode Island, and BENJAMIN F. FRENCH, Esq., of New York, acknowledging their election as honorary members; from JOHN CHETWOOD, Esq., of California, Rev. J. B. CONDIT, D. D., of Lane Seminary, Ohio, and WM. F. CLEMSEN, Esq., of Chillicothe, recognizing their transfer from the list of resident to that of corresponding members in consequence of removal from the State; from the Missouri Historical Society, American Antiquarian Society, and Regents of the University of the State of New York, acknowledging donations; from A. D. Bache, Esq., Superintendent of Coast Survey; Miss Catharine Veghte, of Raritan, and the Historical Societies of Connecticut and New York, transmitting donations for the Library; from Edward Armstrong, Esq., of Philadelphia; Librarian Historical Society of Massachusetts, and various gentlemen on matters connected with the operations of the Society.

The Librarian reported the donations received since May, the total amount of additions being 157 pamphlets, 26 volumes of newspapers, and 19 bound historical works.

Several of these donations are of much value to the historian and antiquarian. Miss Catharine Veghte's gift was the New York Observer from its commencement *twenty-two years* ago, there being but few papers missing. From Mr. Farlee was received a copy of the third edition of Samuel Newman's Concordance of the Bilbe—the third Concordance compiled in the English language, and far superior to its predecessors—printed in 1658; Mr. Newman was pastor of the church in Rehoboth from 1644 to 1663.

The Treasurer reported a balance in the Treasury of \$260 42.

Dr. MURRAY, from the Executive Committee, reported that the Corresponding Secretary had consented, at the request of the Committee, to make the examination of the Belcher Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library, which was directed at the last meeting; and that a report thereon might be expected at the January meeting.

In the absence of Judge DUER the Chairman, Mr. WHITEHEAD, from the Committee on Publications reported that, since the last meeting, another number of the Periodical had been issued, bringing down the proceedings to the present time.

Also that, acting under advice that such a course would most conduce to the success of the application, they had postponed applying to the Authorities of the city of Newark for permission to publish the early records in their possession, as they were authorized to do at the last meeting; but they proposed at an early day carrying out the wishes of the Society in relation thereto.

Mr. GIFFORD and Dr. MURRAY, from the Committee on Biographies, made verbal statements of the progress made in inducing those having in their possession the requisite materials, to prepare memoirs of the distinguished dead. Dr. M. said that a sketch of the *civil life* of one of the most eminent divines New Jersey had produced, (Dr. Ashbel Green,) was nearly completed, and would probably be presented at the next meeting; that a memoir of Dr. Witherspoon, written by Dr. Green, and yet in manuscript, he thought might be obtained for the Society, and adverted to some other names, which he thought would ere long be rescued from the oblivion which had threatened

them. Mr. Gifford stated that there were hopes entertained by the Committee, that the biographies of Chancellor Williamson and John Stevens would shortly be written.

No reports having been received from the Committees on Monumental Inscriptions, Mr. GIFFORD, in some interesting remarks, drew the attention of the members to the importance of preserving these fleeting memorials of past generations.

Mr. WHITEHEAD reminded the members that no special authority was required ; that the resolution under which the Committee for Newark had acted, and under which he had secured the inscriptions in Perth Amboy, Woodbridge and Piscataway, was all sufficient. It was expected that the members in all the towns of the State would constitute themselves into committees, and procure for the Society the names, dates and ages on all monuments erected prior to the present century, giving in full such inscriptions as in their judgment demanded it.

The Committee appointed to revise the lists of members, reported the work complete. After making the necessary deductions and alterations, there were 330 Resident, 70 Corresponding, and 42 Honorary members.

Mr. L. D. BALDWIN, from the Committee appointed to inquire into the expediency and cost of erecting a fire-proof building for the accommodation of the Society's library and property, reported in substance that the requisite inquiries had been made, and that a suitable lot and edifice could be secured for about \$8,000. In relation to the expediency of the measure, the Committee thought they could not too earnestly press upon the Society the importance to its interests of the erection of this building. It is essential to its prosperity ; for if a fire were to destroy to any extent the collections already made, it would materially dampen the ardor and discourage the hopes of those engaged in furthering its objects ; while the possibility of such an event deters some from making deposits with the Society themselves, or urging such a course upon others. They entertained no doubts that the erection of a suitable building would at once place the Society on a permanent basis, and enlist in its service a more ardent and active sympathy than could be expected under other circumstances.

Mr. HAYES, from the Committee on Nominations, reported favora-

bly upon several gentlemen whose names were referred to them at the last meeting, and they were all unanimously elected, and other nominations were made.

Mr. WHITEHEAD referred to a letter received from Mr. Armstrong, Recording Secretary of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, in relation to the site of old Fort Nassau, and offered the following resolution, which was adopted :

Resolved, That Messrs. I. S. Mulford and Isaac Mickle of Camden, and S. H. Congar (the Librarian) of Newark, with such other gentlemen as they may associate with them, be a committee to co-operate with a similar committee of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in making such explorations and researches as they may deem advisable to determine the location of Fort Nassau, on the Delaware river, constructed in 1623.

The report of the Committee on a Fire Proof Building, was called up—and after some remarks from Messrs. Duryee, Gifford, Dr. Murray and others, the following resolution, offered by Dr. MURRAY, was adopted :

Resolved, That the President of the Society, and Mr. John R. Weeks, be added to the Committee on the proposed Fire-proof Building: that the Committee be authorized to procure subscriptions towards the purchase of a site, and the erection of a suitable edifice: and that, should a sufficient sum be raised before the next meeting of the Society to purchase a site. they be authorized so to do, if they think it advisable, and report the fact, with the plan of the proposed building, at the next meeting.

On motion of Dr. MURRAY, it was

Resolved, That the special thanks of the Society be presented to Miss Catharine Veghte for the valuable donation received from her, of a continuous file of the New York Observer for twenty-two years.

A gentleman present sent up a copy of the Thanksgiving Sermon of Rev. Dr. Rodgers, preached in New York in 1783.

From the Hon. James S. Nevius, was received a copy of the Court Martial convened for the trial of General Lee for his misconduct at Monmouth.

Messrs. Duryee and Weeks were appointed the Committee to audit the accounts of the Treasurer preparatory to the annual meeting.

Rev. Dr. CARNAHAN then finished the reading of a paper, (commenced at the meeting in January,) on "the Whiskey Insurrection in Pennsylvania in 1794."

On the conclusion of the paper, approbatory remarks were made by the Hon. James G. King, Rev. Drs. Proudfit and Murray, Dr. Lewis Condict, Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Duryee, and on motion of the first named gentleman, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the Rev. Dr. Carnahan for the highly interesting, valuable and instructive paper which he has just read, and that he be requested to place a copy at the disposal of the Society.

The Rev. Dr. Davidson read a "History of the First Presbyterian Church in New Brunswick, from its organization in 1726, to the present time."

On motion of Mr. HAYES, the thanks of the Society were voted to Dr. Davidson, and a copy of the paper requested.

The Society then adjourned to meet at Trenton, in conformity with the by-laws, on the *third Thursday in January* next.

SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE AND PAPERS

Laid before the Society, September 8th, 1852.

FROM HON. WM. B. LAWRENCE.

OCHRE POINT, NEWPORT, *June 11th, 1852.*

DEAR SIR—On my return home yesterday, after an absence of some weeks, I found your note of the 22d ultimo, as well as your communication of the 28th of the same month, accompanying a cer-

tificate of my election as a member of the Historical Society of New Jersey.

Connected with your State by reminiscences, going back to earliest infancy, and acquainted as I am with those incidents of your colonization, which render the records of New Jersey a memorable portion of our American annals, I cannot but feel gratified with being associated with a Society, whose object is the preservation of the history of that State, among the original thirteen, which was emphatically the battle ground of the Revolution.

I need scarcely add, that the obligation conferred on me, by my election, was not a little enhanced by the pleasure I derived from participating in the proceedings of your last meeting.

I am, dear sir, very respectfully,

Your ob't, faithful servant,

WM. B. LAWRENCE.

WM. A. WHITEHEAD, Esq., Cor. Sec., &c.

FROM REV. J. B. CONDIT, D. D.

WALNUT HILLS, Lane Seminary, O., *July 30th, 1852.*

DEAR SIR—I have just received your communication informing me that I have become a corresponding member of the New Jersey Historical Society of New Jersey—with a certificate of membership.

I rejoice that by a removal from my native State, I am not to be separated from the Society. As I shall cherish an undiminished affection for the State that gave me birth—where are the sepulchres of my fathers—so I shall feel an unchanging interest in the Historical Society of New Jersey, and earnestly hope it may be in my power to serve it. Gratefully acknowledging the honor of this membership,

I remain, dear sir, Yours respectfully,

J. B. CONDIT.

WM. A. WHITEHEAD, Esq., Cor. Sec., &c.

FROM EDWARD ARMSTRONG, Esq., *Recording Secretary Pennsylvania Historical Society.*

PHILADELPHIA, No. 108 South 4th street, }
July 14th, 1852. }

DEAR SIR—Upon making some inquiries of a friend in New Jersey as to the site of Fort Nassau, and expressing the apprehension it

would never be discovered, he informed me that Mr. John Redfield, who resided near Gloucester, (about three miles below Philadelphia,) thought he had found it. Mr. Hazard, myself, and some other members of our Historical Society, on Thursday last visited the place in company with Mr. Redfield, and certainly did find some vestiges that looked *very* much like the remains of a Fort. It appears that for many years Mr. Redfield has felt a desire to discover this interesting spot, and that one of his children having found a rare plant in the vicinity which they supposed was not indigenous, Mr. R. was led to a more active search, and discovered at the junction of Big and Little timber Creeks the ruins to which I shall presently more particularly refer.

Having reached the ground and secured the assistance of a couple of men, we found three logs in the position as described in the enclosed plan, and at the distance of 12 ft. 5 inches from the logs, the remains of a stone wall. The figures "A" and "B" appear to have lost their ties; that of "C" remained perfect. The wall was level with the surface, and extended to about the depth of 8 inches beneath the surface. No mortar had been used in its construction, and it was composed of unquarried stone—the common sand stone of New Jersey. Immediately in the rear we dug up a few brick, which adhered by mortar. In size they were precisely of the dimension of our modern brick. We regret we did not push our explorations further at this point in order, whether these bricks were actually a portion of a wall and rested at the level of wall E. upon a stone foundation, or whether they had, without being separated, been thrown together in a mass for the purpose of protecting the bank and then covered with earth. These bricks, if they are any portion of the building itself, *do* present a difficulty. As within the immediate vicinity is a brick yard, they were doubtless burnt upon the spot, and are rough enough; but if made up at that early day would they not have been made after the manner of the Dutch?

The house within the Fort was built by Van Twiller. The fact of its having been of brick would not have been an unusual circumstance—for the house built by De Vries at the Horekill, in 1630, was of brick. The logs were very slightly exposed at low tide. At high tide the whole site was covered. I believe wood will last an almost illimitable period under water. The remains of the structure are immediately on the creek, which at low tide shrinks to a small stream. The shore is of an alluvial character, and is said to have much altered.

The wall, I imagine, was originally beyond the reach of the water and the wear of the stream, has gradually washed it away until the first layer of stones are now exposed. Our reasons for believing these are the remains of Fort Nassau are these: It is the only spot (this site) on which they could judiciously erect a Fort. You will recollect, built in 1623, and avowedly as a trading post, they would not build it on the shore of the river with the view of defending themselves against an European foe. They would build so as to command the only *avenue* of trade with the Indians—the *streams*. And, building on a stream, they would naturally select the confluence, if fortunately another stream was near. I, of course, argue on the supposition (although there is a slight contradiction in some of the authorities) that it was built at Timber Creek. Log A is out of its jog, but retains its general position. Log D is firmly dovetailed or fixed. Other logs lie about, and are evidently a portion of the structure. If, as some may suppose, the remains are those of an old storehouse and wharf, I would say that the most industrious inquiry has failed in even the tradition of a house having ever stood on this spot. It has occurred to me that an examination of the records at Trenton, with reference to the title of the property, might throw some light on the matter. This I propose to do, if I have time, on Friday or Saturday. If you happen to know the Secretary of State, and would write him to afford me facilities, it might aid my object; or you might, if disposed, write to some one of your members, living in Trenton, to aid me in my examination, or to speak to the Secretary of State.

On reflection, I fear the whole matter properly belongs to your Society; though as Fort Nassau was the first point of settlement on the Delaware, our Society feels a deep interest in the subject.

The members have generally expressed the wish that your Society should take early action and make a thorough exploration. We should indeed be truly happy to go with you to the spot and aid you all in our power. Proper caution should be exercised in asserting a historical fact; but as far as I could learn, the general impression on the minds of the gentlemen who have visited the spot, is, that these are the remains of Fort Nassau. We shall, however, be better able to pronounce a judgment after your Society has made its examinations. I do not know whether it will ever be in our power to establish this as the site; but if further investigations should make the supposition that it is a yet more reasonable one than in the minds of the most sanguine it is at present, the spot will certainly demand something to

commemorate it. When we remember that it was destroyed by the Dutch themselves, in 1650 or 1651, it is not surprising that all tradition of it should have perished, when perhaps twenty-five years elapsed before the vicinity was settled.

On Monday last I read a paper to our Society containing a brief history of the Fort and a description of its supposed site. A resolution was passed requesting me to communicate a copy to your Society. This I shall hesitate to do, without a thorough revision of the article, and in view of this intention I would be glad if you would inform me where your Society next meets.

It has occurred to me that there must be much in the collections of the New York Historical Society. I trust, should your leisure permit, that you may be induced to give their papers an examination. The interest felt by our Society in the matter is such that they will do all in *their* power to throw light on the inquiry. The dimensions of the Fort marked on the margin of the plan are from the map in the 1st volume of O'Callaghan's History of New Netherlands. It will be recollected that the Fort was once or twice repaired and probably rebuilt. Hoping to hear from you,

I am, respectfully and truly, yours,

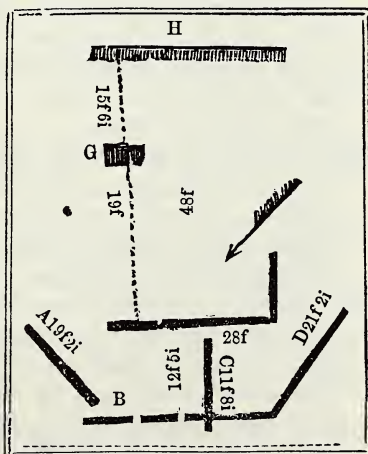
EDW. ARMSTRONG, Rec. Sec. of H. S. Penn'a.

Width of Wall, 1 foot 6 inches.
G. Fragment of wall.
 From summit *H* to outside of logs, 48 feet.
A. B. C. D. Logs.
 Extreme breadth of the works 36 feet.
C. Cross Tie.
 The whole surface from *G.* overflowed at high water.
 The summit *H* is about 7 feet above low water mark.
 ----- Low water mark.

DIMENSIONS OF FORT NASSAU.

From *O'Callaghan's Map*, 1 Vol. of *N. Neth.*

Fort Nassau is 58 feet wide within the walls, and of a square form (say 55 Dutch.) The Moat 18 (say 17) wide. The house in the Fort is 36 (say 34) feet long and 26 (say 25-6) feet wide.



DONATIONS

ANNOUNCED SEPTEMBER 8TH, 1852.

From the U. S. Treasury Department.—Charts of Hart and City Island, Sachem's Head Harbor, and Richmond's Island Harbor, called Harbors of Refuge; with Charts of the entrance to Mobile Bay, of Hell Gate and its approaches, and of the western part of the southern coast of Long Island.

From John R. Burnet.—Thirty-third Annual Report, and Documents of the New York Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, to the Legislature of the State of New York, for the year 1851.

From the Regents of the University of the State of New York.—Annual Report of the Trustees of the State Library, to the Legislature, March 9th, 1851.

Fifth Annual Report of the Regents of the University of the State of N. Y. on the condition of the State Cabinet of Natural History, and the Historical and Antiquarian Collection annexed thereto. Transmitted to the Assembly, Feb. 2d, 1852. 2 copies.

The Documentary History of the State of New York, arranged under the direction of the Hon. Christopher Morgan, Secretary of State. By E. B. O'Callaghan, M. D. Vol. IV.

From the Virginia Historical Society.—The Virginia Historical Register and Literary Advertiser. Vols. 1, 2, 3 and 4, for the years 1848, '49, '50 and '51.

From General Anthony Lamb.—Memoir of the Life and Times of General John Lamb, an officer of the Revolution, who commanded the Post at West Point at the time of Arnold's defection; and his correspondence with Washington, Clinton, Patrick Henry, and other distinguished men of his time. By Isaac A. Leake.

From Joseph P. Bradley, Esq.—Journal of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council of the State of New Jersey, for the Sessions of 1803, '4, '5, '6, '7, '8, '9, '11, '12, '15, '16 and '20.

Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey, at the Sessions of 1803, '4, '6, '7, '8, '9, '10, '11, '13, '14, '15, '17, '19, '20, '22, '23, '24, '25 and '26.

Acts of the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey, passed at the Sessions of 1785, '86, '87, '90, '91, 92, '93, 1800, 1801, '2, '3 and '4.

Minutes and Proceedings of the Council and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey, in Joint Meeting, from August 30, 1776, to November 18, 1806, inclusive.

From the American Philosophical Society.—Transactions of the American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia, for promoting useful knowledge. Vol. X.—New series—Part 2.

From the New York Historical Society.—Collections of the New York Historical Society. Second series; Vol. 1: part 1 and 2.

From the Wisconsin Historical Society.—Third Annual Address before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, March 16, 1852; by Lewis N. Wood, M. D., member of the Assembly.

From the Mercantile Library Association of Cincinnati.—The Onward Age, an anniversary poem, recited before the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association of Cincinnati, in honor of its eighteenth anniversary; by T. Buchanan Read.

From George S. Houghton, Esq.—Address of Henry Stevens, delivered before the members of the State Agricultural Society at Middlebury, Vermont, Sept. 11, 1851.

From the American Antiquarian Society.—Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, in Boston, April 30, 1851; in Worcester, October 23, 1851, and in Boston, April 28, 1852.

From Miss Catharine Veghte.—The New York Observer from its commencement in 1823 to the year 1850, inclusive, (some papers wanting.)

From Col. James D. Graham, U. S. N.—Documents on the Mexican Boundary Question.

From Smith Baldwin.—Winterbotham's View of the United States, and of the European Settlements in America and West Indies. Vol. 1.

Church Manual, and a Brief History of the First Presbyterian Church, Newark, N. J. By Wm. T. Hamilton, pastor; 1827.

From H. H. Goodman.—Sketches and Statistics of Cincinnati in 1851. By Charles Cist.

From Rev. George Hale.—A MS. Sermon of the Rev. John Guild, pastor of Presbyterian Church of Hopewell, Hunterdon county, from 1741 to 1785.

A MS. Sermon of the Rev. David Cowell, the first pastor of the

Presbyterian Church, Trenton.

No. 1360 of the Pennsylvania Gazette for January 14, 1755.

The New Jersey Gazette, No. 331, for September 13, 1784.

The Federal Post, No. 72, for September 23d, 1788.

From Dr. Lyndon A. Smith.—The American Quarterly Journal of Agriculture and Science. By Drs. E. Emmons and A. I. Prime, Vols. 1, 2 and 4.

A Geological and Agricultural Survey of Rensselaer county in the State of New York. Taken under the direction of the Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer, 1822.

Second Report of the Geology of the State of Maine. By Charles T. Jackson, M. D.

Obituary Addresses on the occasion of the death of the Hon. John C. Calhoun, in the Senate of the United States, April 1, 1850.

Report of the Committee on Slavery, to the Convention of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts, May 30, 1849.

"The Higher Law"—its application to the Fugitive Slave Bill. A Sermon on the Duties men owe to God and to Governments. Delivered at the Central Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, on 'Thanksgiving Day: by John G. Lord, D. D., pastor, &c.

History, By-Laws and Charter of the New York Hospital—1811.

The Claims of Religion upon Medical Men. A Discourse delivered in the Tenth Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Nov. 24, 1844; by H. A. Boardman, pastor.

The By-Laws of the Adams Patriotic and Economical Society; and an Address delivered before said Society at Adams, (North Village,) July 4th, 1821; by Robert C. Robinson.

An Oration delivered at the request of the Selectmen of the Town of Boston, on the Anniversary of American Independence, in the year 1820; by Theodore Lyman, Jr.

An Address delivered before King Solomon's Lodge, Charlestown, on the Anniversary of St. John the Baptist, June 24th, A. L. 5811. By John Lathrop, A. M.

Census of the United States, of the year 1820.

Constitution and By-Laws of the Northern Academy of Arts and Sciences, and first Annual Report of the Curators—1842.

Notice of a Scientific Expedition; by Prof. E. Emmons, of Williams College.

First Annual Report, with the Constitution, By Laws and Standing Rules of the New York Young Men's Society, instituted in the

city of New York, May, 1831.

An Answer to a Pamphlet, recently addressed to the Episcopalians of Pennsylvania, under the signature of Plain Truth ; 1827.

The Apostacy of Mr. Newman, and some traces of Newmania on New Jersey Soil. By a Presbyterian : 1845.

Address of the Pastor of the Third Church, Newark, (Rev. Joshua T. Russell,) to the People of his Charge, on announcing to them his decision to apply for a dismission ; read to the Congregation, June 7, 1829.

A Brief History of an Existing Controversy on the subject of Assimilated Rank in the Navy of the United States. By W. S. W. R. ; 1850.

A Lecture on some Parts of the Natural History of New Jersey, delivered before the Newark Mechanics' Association for Mutual Improvement in the Arts and Sciences, June 3, 1828 ; by S. L. Mitchell, M. D., LL. D., &c.

An Oration delivered before the Society of the Alumni of Williams College, Sept. 7, 1825 ; by the Rev. Ezra Fisk, D. D.

Opinions of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the cases of "*Smith vs. Turner*," and "*Norris vs. The City of Boston*," delivered at December term, 1848.

Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Prison Discipline Society, Boston, May, 1849.

First Annual Report of the New Jersey Prison Reform Association, together with the Proceedings of the first Annual Meeting, 1850.

Historical and Descriptive Account of the New Jersey State Lunatic Asylum, at Trenton, by H. A. Buttolph, M. D., Superintendent.

Annual Report of the Managers of the New York State Lunatic Asylum, January 18th, 1844.

Answer to Marcius Willson's Reply, or Second Appeal to the Public. By Emma Willard.

The Complaint and Petition of Thomas Jefferson Boyce, for twenty years a sail maker in the United States Navy : 1852.

Report of the trial, *The People vs. Dr. Horatio N. Loomis*, for libel ; tried at the Erie County Oyer and Terminer, June 24th, 1850.

Bibliotheca Americana, a Catalogue of a choice Collection of Books, relating to North and South America, and the West Indies,

including Voyages, Maps, Engravings and Medals. Paris, 1840.

Common School Assistant, a monthly paper for the Improvement of Primary School Education, for the years 1838 and 1839, (imperfect.)

Proceedings of the National Republican Convention of Young Men, which assembled at the city of Washington, May 7, 1832.

Annual Circular of the Massachusetts Medical College, with a History of the Medical Department of Harvard University, a Catalogue of Graduates, &c. 1846.

Address of the Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital, to the subscribers and to the public. March, 1822.

Annual Reports of the Board of Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital, for the years 1834, '35, '36, '37 and '45.

Minutes of the Proceedings of the National Medical Convention, held in the city of New York, in the month of May, 1846.

Proceedings of the President and Fellows of the Connecticut Medical Society, in Convention, May, 1837, with a list of the members of the Society.

Report of the Standing Committee on Medical Literature, presented to the American Medical Association, at its third annual meeting, held in Cincinnati, May, 1850.

Report of the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania, for the year 1849: to the Alumni of the School. By the Medical Faculty.

The Act of Incorporation, together with the Medical Police, By-Laws and Rules of the Rhode Island Medical Society.

Regulations and System of Ethics of the Medical Association of Newark, N. J. 1835.

Acts of Incorporation and Acts regulating the Practice of Physic and Surgery, with the By-Laws and orders of the Massachusetts Medical Society.

The Organization of the American Medical Association. Read before the Philadelphia County Medical Society, February, 1852. By the President, Samuel Jackson, M. D.

Quarterly Summary of the Transactions of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia; November and December, 1841, and Jan. 1842.

From the Author.—An Address delivered by the Rev. D. V. McLean, D. D., at his Inauguration as President of La Fayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania, July 23, 1851; with an Introductory Address

by the Hon. James M. Porter, LL. D., President of the Board of Trustees.

From a Member.—Proceedings of the First Session of the American Association for the advancement of Education, held at Cleveland, Ohio, August, 1851.

From "A Jerseyman."—Report of the Special Committee appointed by the Common Council of the city of New York, relative to the Catastrophe in Hague street, on Monday, Feb. 4, 1850.

Report of the Special Committee appointed to make suitable arrangements for bringing on from Mexico the bodies of the Officers of the New York Regiment of Volunteers; and to prepare and present Medals to the New York Regiment of Volunteers. Also to make the necessary arrangements for the Reception of the First Regiment of New York Volunteers, on their return from Mexico. Reports of the Committee on Arts and Sciences, on the subject of reprinting the Report of the Paulding Monument Committee, of December 4, 1826.

Report of the Committee of Arrangements of the Common Council of the city of New York for the Funeral Obsequies in memory of Gen. Zachary Taylor, late President of the United States; with an Oration by David Graham, Esq.

Report of the Proceedings of the Sanitary Committee of the Board of Health, in relation to the Cholera, in 1849.

Report of the Joint Special Committee appointed to make suitable arrangements for the reception of Major General Scott, on his return from Mexico.

From the Author.—An Address delivered at Chester, before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, on the 8th of November, 1851; by Edward Armstrong, Recording Secretary of the Society; in celebration of the One Hundred and Sixty-Ninth Anniversary of the landing of William Penn at that place.

From Isaac G. Farlee, Esq.—A Treatise of Grace and Assurance; being CXX. Sermons.

A Concordance of the Bible: by Samuel Newman, pastor of Rehoboth Church, from 1644 to 1663. 3d edition; London, 1658: folio.

Supplement to the New Jersey Gazette, No. 31, for July 8, 1778.

From the Young Men's Committee, of Newark.—Sermon, on the Life and Death of Henry Clay, before the Young Men of Newark, N. J.

Preached at their request, in "The House of Prayer," July 25th, 1852. By Rev. Samuel L. Southard, A. M.

From the Author.—Gifford's Statutory Constructions and Index.

From Hon. J. W. Miller.—Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah. By Howard Stansbury, Captain Corps Top. Eng's, U. S. A.

From the Connecticut Historical Society.—Tribute to Gallaudet. A Discourse in commemoration of the Life, Character and Services of the Rev. Thomas H. Gallaudet, LL. D.; delivered before the citizens of Hartford, January 7th, 1852; with an Appendix, containing History of Deaf Mute Instruction and Institutions, and other documents. By Henry Barnard.

The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, from 1665 to 1678; with the Journal of the Council of War, 1675 to 1678. Transcribed and Edited, with Notes and Appendix, by J. Hammond Trumbull, A. M., Cor. Sec. Conn. Hist. Soc., &c.

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THE
PENNSYLVANIA INSURRECTION.
OF
1794,

COMMONLY CALLED THE "WHISKEY INSURRECTION."

A PAPER

READ BEFORE THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

September 8th, 1852, by the

REV. JAMES CARNAHAN, D. D.

THE PENNSYLVANIA INSURRECTION.

The Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania, usually called the Whiskey Insurrection, is almost entirely forgotten, or if remembered and spoken of, it is only to be sneered at as having arisen from the love of whiskey, and carried on by men under the influence of that exciting stimulant.

The causes which led to this outbreak were very imperfectly understood at the time by men residing in other parts of the United States; and even after it was quelled, and peace and order restored, the same erroneous views of the motives and conduct of the leading men in Western Pennsylvania still prevailed.

A very full account of the whole transaction was written immediately after, and published the year following, by Wm. Finley and Hugh Henry Brackenridge. But as these men were suspected and charged with being instigators and leaders in the whole affair, their statements were not generally believed. Yet from personal observations and from the testimony of those who were eye-witnesses, I am satisfied that the facts stated by both these men are substantially correct; although the inferences deduced from them may frequently be erroneous. Indeed it is scarcely conceivable that men who had any regard to their own reputation, would, in the face of hundreds of living witnesses, dare to publish facts varying essentially from the truth. Great injustice has been done to Wm. Finley, H. H. Breckenridge, Albert Gallatin and others, who from their intelligence and position in public life, were supposed to have had a controlling influence in the whole movement. The character of the great body of the people of the four western counties of Pennsylvania has also been greatly misconceived. It has been supposed that they were an ignorant, lawless, semi-barbarian people, destitute of moral and religious principle, ready to do any act, however outrageous, at the bidding of a few designing and ambitious leaders. Such was not the fact. That there were some restless, lawless spirits in that region, as there are in every

other community, is not to be denied. But that there was as much intelligence and moral principle among the great body of the people as were to be found in any part of the country at that time, similarly situated, we most confidently affirm.

They were a bold, hardy race of men, inured to hardships and dangers, arising from their local situation and from the incursions of the Indians on their borders during the Revolutionary war, and afterwards, until the insurrection occurred. The peculiar circumstances of these people will account for the outbreak, without supposing they set all law and order at defiance, and that they were habitually under the influence of intoxicating drink. With the solitary exception of what took place in their resistance of the excise law, they were as orderly and observant of social duties as the people in any part of the United States. Very few robberies, murders and other high crimes occurred; and when they did occur, the culprits were regularly arraigned before courts of justice, and when found guilty, were punished according to law. Lynch law was entirely unknown. Controversies respecting property were also decided in a formal and legal manner, and when the decision of the court was announced, the parties submitted without a murmur or complaint. Alexander Addison was president of the courts in the four counties, and I venture to say that a more intelligent, learned, upright and fearless Judge was not to be found in the State. The members of the Bar were also highly respectable. Among them were James Ross, then Senator of the U. S.; Hugh H. Brackenridge, afterwards one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Pa.; John Wood, Armstrong Semple, Young, and others. Considering the circumstances of the people of the four western counties of Pennsylvania, although we cannot justify their violent resistance to the laws, yet we shall find abundant cause to palliate in some measure the enormity of the acts committed.

Western Pennsylvania was partially settled some fifteen or twenty years before the Revolutionary war. During that war the people west of the mountains had to defend themselves against the murderous attacks of the Indians on their borders. The savage foe often made incursions into the settlements, murdered men, women and children, burnt their cabins and destroyed their grain and cattle. On one occasion they penetrated into the centre of Westmoreland county, burnt the county town, killed several of the inhabitants and carried off as prisoners the daughters of Hannah, the original proprietor of the place. In the summer season, for several years, the men placed their wives

and children in block-houses, guarded by the old men, while the young and active hoed their corn and harvested their crops in parties, some keeping watch and others performing the work. They were also called on for their quota of men to fight the British on the Atlantic coast. When a boy, I have heard from the lips of western men of the battles of Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth, and also of the horrors and sufferings of the Jersey prison-ships. For several years after the peace of 1783 there was nothing but a horse path over the mountains ; so that salt, iron, powder, lead and other necessary articles had to be carried on pack-horses from Philadelphia to Pittsburg. As late as 1794, the year of the insurrection, so bad were the roads that freight in wagons cost from \$5 to \$10 per hundred pounds. Salt sold for five dollars a bushel ; iron and steel from fifteen to twenty cents per pound in Pittsburg. I need not say that now all these articles are cheaper in Pittsburg than in Philadelphia or New York. Western Pennsylvania is a hilly but remarkably healthy and fertile region, and in its virgin state the soil produced wheat, rye, corn and other grains in abundance, with very little culture. But there was no market. While the farmers east of the mountains were growing rich by means of the French revolution and the general war in Europe, those west of the mountains could find no outlet for their abundant harvests. The freight of a barrel of flour from Pittsburg to Philadelphia would cost nearly as much as it would bring in that market. The mouth of the Mississippi was then in the hands of the Spanish, and there were no houses of established character in New Orleans to which produce could be consigned. Merchants in Pittsburg and elsewhere would not purchase wheat or flour and run the risk of sending it down the river in boats, which were liable to be fired on by the Indians from the banks of the Ohio, the boatmen murdered and their cargoes destroyed.

Trade down the river was carried on in this way : A farmer of more enterprise than his neighbors would build a boat or ark of rough plank, load it with his own produce and that of his neighbors who were willing to send a venture, and he would float down the Ohio and Mississippi and sell at New Orleans for what he could get, and make his way back in a vessel to New York ; or what was more common, he would come through Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia, over the mountains and through cane-brakes, wearing a girdle of Spanish dollars round his body, which might serve as a corslet in case an Indian, as was very likely, should shoot at him.

Wheat in that country was so abundant and of so little value that it was a common practice to grind that of the best quality and to feed it to horses and hogs. Rye, corn and barley would bring no price as food for man or beast. The only way left for these people to obtain a little money to purchase salt, iron and other articles necessary in carrying on their farming operations was by distilling their grain and reducing it into a more portable form, and sending the whiskey over the mountains or down the Ohio to Kentucky, then rapidly filling up and affording a market for that article. The lawfulness or morality of making and drinking whiskey was not in that day called in question. When Western Pennsylvania was in the condition described, the Federal Constitution was adopted, and a most difficult problem was presented, viz: how to provide ways and means to support the Government, to pay just and pressing revolutionary claims, and sustain an army to subdue the Indians still harrassing the frontiers. The duties on goods imported, were very far from adequate to the wants of the new Government. Taxes were laid on articles supposed to be the least necessary, and among other things on distilled liquors or on the stills with which they were manufactured. The Constitution of the U. S. provided that "all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States."—Sec. 8th. But it is manifest that the same article may be taxed alike in all the States, and yet the tax may be very unequal and oppressive in particular parts of the country. Excise on stills and whiskey operated in this way: Little or no whiskey was manufactured in some of the States, and in different parts of the same State. The western people saw and felt that the excise pressed on them, who were the least able to bear the burden, more heavily than on any other part of the Union. They had more stills and made more whiskey than an equal population in any part of the country. There were very few or no large manufactories where grain was bought and cash paid. There was not capital in the country for that purpose. In some neighborhoods every fifth or sixth farmer was a distiller, who, during the winter season, manufactured his own grain and that of his neighbors into a portable and saleable article. They foresaw that what little money was brought into the country by the sale of whiskey would be carried away in the form of excise duties. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the people generally dreaded the burdens about to be imposed upon them—that they remonstrated through their Representatives in Congress against the enactment of the excise law; and after the law was passed, that they

petitioned for its repeal, and that they were slow in registering their stills according to law.

The origin of these people ought also to be remembered. A large majority, especially in Washington county, were either from the north of Ireland or they were descendants of Scotch Irish. They remembered, or their fathers had told them, of the exactions and oppression in the old country under the excise laws—that their domiciles were entered by excise officers—their most private apartments were examined, and that confiscations and imprisonment followed if the smallest quantity of whiskey was discovered not marked with the official brand. When the back woods people (for so they were called) saw the Inspector going round with his measuring rod, gauging their barrels and their stills, and noting the result in his book, they imagined that the same scenes were to be acted over again in the wilds of America that their fathers had witnessed in the old country. To these people no other tax of equal amount would have been half so odious. Moreover, the course pursued by the civil authorities of Pennsylvania encouraged these people to believe that excise officers might be resisted and abused with impunity and the payment of duties evaded by refusing to comply with the requirements of the law.

Previously to the formation of the Federal Union the Legislature of Pennsylvania had enacted an excise law, and an officer was sent into the western part of the State to put it in execution. He was seized by a mob, tarred and feathered, and told not to show his face again west of the mountains. The persons concerned in this outrage were not prosecuted and punished, either because they could not be identified, or because the Executive of the State thought it would be hard to enforce the execution of the law where it would be extremely onerous. There is no evidence that the State excise was ever paid west of the mountains. These people also remembered that resistance to the stamp act and duty on tea at the commencement of the American Revolution began by the destruction of the tea and a refusal to use the Royal stamps—that the design was not to break allegiance to the British throne, but to force a repeal of these odious laws. These people were, almost to a man, enemies to the British Government, and had contributed their full proportion in services in establishing the independence of the American States. They flattered themselves that they were only carrying out Whig principles and following Whig examples in resisting the excise law. These ideas pervading the great body of the people, caused those who were

orderly and peaceable citizens to look with an indulgent eye at the first acts of insult and violence to the Federal excise officers.

The first acts of violence were done to the Deputy Inspectors, men generally of low character, who had very little sensibility, and who were willing, for the paltry emoluments of the office, to incur the censure and contempt of their fellow-citizens. These sub-excise men were seized by thoughtless young men, and received a coat of tar and feathers, more through sport than from a deliberative design to oppose the law. Of several cases of this kind which occurred, I shall mention only one, which in part fell under my notice. About the last of June or the first of July, 1794, John Lyn, a Deputy Inspector, residing in Canonsburg, Washington county, was taken from his bed, carried into the woods and received a coat of tar and feathers, and he was left tied to a tree so loosely that he could easily extricate himself. He returned to his house, and after undergoing an ablution with grease and soap and sand and water, he exhibited himself to the boys in the Academy and others, and laughed and made sport of the whole matter.

Some distillers had registered their still in the Inspector's office according to law, and *Tom the Tinker's boys*, as they called themselves, broke into the distilleries, cut up the stills, destroyed the vats and other distilling apparatus. This prevented others who were willing to comply with the requirements of the law, from entering their stills in the Inspector's office. The consequence was that the U. S. Marshal served writs on all delinquent distillers in Fayette and Washington counties, requiring them to appear at the U. S. Court east of the mountains. To the surprise of the Marshal, he met with no molestation until he had served every writ except one in Washington county. And had he gone on alone and served that remaining one, it is believed he would have received no interruption. Unfortunately he called on Gen. Neville, the Chief Inspector, and requested his company as he went to serve the last writ on one of the neighbors of the Inspector. Gen. Neville was a man of high standing on account of his wealth, family connections and urbanity of manners and, before he accepted the office of Inspector of the excise, very popular in the Western country. His appearing in company with the Marshal excited the indignation of some of the neighbors, and on the return of the Marshal and Inspector, they were followed by five or six men, armed, and a gun was discharged towards them—not, it is believed, with a design to injure, but to alarm them and to show their dislike towards the Inspector.

On the day of this occurrence there was a military meeting at Mingo Creek, about seven miles distant from the Inspector's house, for the purpose of drafting men to go against the Indians. A report of the attack on the Marshal and Inspector was carried to this meeting, and the next morning before sunrise about thirty young men, headed by John Holcroft, the reputed author of the inflammatory handbills signed *Tom the Tinker*, assembled at the house of General Neville, the Inspector, and demanded the delivery of his commission, and official papers. This demand was refused, and the firing of guns commenced. Neville and his friends maintained that the assailants discharged the first gun. The insurgents asserted that the first discharge came from the house, and that their only intention was to alarm the Inspector and to cause him to deliver his papers.

The firing went on for some time from the house and from the assailants. At length a horn was sounded in the house, and then there was a discharge of fire-arms from the negro quarters which stood apart from the mansion house. From the guns of the negroes, who probably used small shots, five or six of the insurgents were wounded, one of them mortally. Forthwith the report spread that the blood of citizens had been shed, and a call was made on all who valued liberty or life to assemble at Mingo Creek meeting house, prepared to avenge the outrage. Some went willingly; others were compelled to go. A large number assembled at the place of rendezvous. Three men were appointed to direct the expedition; and Major McFarlane, who had seen service in the Revolutionary war, was chosen to command the armed force. Before they took up the line of march, the Rev. Mr. Clarke, a venerable man about eighty years of age, came among them, and he exhorted and besought them by everything sacred not to proceed. They regarded the old man as in his dotage, asserting that he was departing from the line of his profession in interfering with the politics of the day. They proceeded; and when they came within half a mile of Neville's house, leaving those who had no fire-arms in charge of the horses, they advanced. After the first attack, Neville had left his house, and Major Kirkpatrick, with ten or twelve United States soldiers; had come to defend it. Kirkpatrick was allied to the family of Neville by marriage. When the assailants approached the house, the three men who were to superintend the affair, took their station on an eminence at a distance. McFarlane and his men approached within gun-shot, and demanded Neville. It was answered that Neville was not in the house nor on the premises. His commission and offi-

cial papers were then demanded, with a declaration that if not delivered, they would be taken by force. Kirkpatrick replied that he had a sufficient force to defend the house, and he would not surrender the papers. McFarlane informed him that he would wait until the women and children, which he observed were in the house, had withdrawn, and then he would commence the attack unless his demands were complied with. The women withdrew, and the firing began on both sides.

After several rounds, the firing seemed to cease from the house, and McFarlane, supposing a parley was desired, stepped from behind a tree which protected him, and ordered his men to stop. At that instant a ball from the house struck him and he expired in a few minutes. Some of the assailants, without orders, applied a torch to the barn; from the barn the fire spread to the other outbuildings, and from them to the dwelling house. When the house caught fire, Kirkpatrick surrendered and was permitted to leave with his command uninjured. It was reported that one of the soldiers was killed and burnt up in the house. This is not certainly known. McFarlane and Kirkpatrick had been officers in the Revolutionary war, and had fought together against the common enemy. The death and funeral of McFarlane greatly increased the excitement, and runners were sent forth to call a meeting of the people at Mingo Creek meeting house to determine what measures were to be taken. In the town of Washington, among others, the messenger urged David Bradford and Col. John Marshall to attend the proposed meeting. At first they both refused. Marshall said he would have nothing to do with the business; and Bradford declined on the ground that he was Prosecuting Attorney for the county, and that his services in that capacity might hereafter be called for. Afterwards they changed their minds, and they both attended the meeting. And as they became prominent leaders in subsequent proceedings, it may be proper to premise that Marshall was an Irishman by birth, came to this country when young, before the Revolutionary war; had been Sheriff of the county, and had occupied other important stations. He was esteemed a sober-minded business man, and the part which he took in what followed, surprised all who knew him. Bradford was a native of Maryland—had been a member of the Legislature of Virginia before the line between that State and Pennsylvania was known. The greater part of Fayette and Washington counties was supposed to belong to Virginia. He was considered as a second or third-rate lawyer. He was rash,

boisterous, and acting from the impulse of the moment, he did not look far ahead ; and he possessed a kind of eloquence well suited to urge forward an infuriated mob.

When Bradford and Marshall arrived at Mingo Creek, mingled with the crowd, heard the grievances stated, and the story of what they called the murder of McFarlane, their sympathies were excited, and they became as furious as any present at the meeting. Marshall, in firm and decisive language, avowed his determination to go forward and to resist tyranny and oppression at all hazards. Bradford declaimed and wrought up the feelings of the people, already excited, to the highest pitch. This was a mass meeting composed chiefly of those in the immediate neighborhood, and open to every one who pleased to attend. The most hot and violent spirits of the county, and of the adjacent parts of Westmoreland and Alleghany, were there. The more intelligent and sober-minded part of the community remained at home. Several gentlemen of Pittsburg, from motives of policy, attended. They presumed that if they did not attend, it would be inferred that they were in alliance with Neville and his friends who resided in or near that town. Among these from Pittsburg was H. H. Breckenridge, who went at the particular request of Col. Prestly Neville, the son of the Inspector.

Mr. Brackenridge was educated in the College of New Jersey, under Dr. Witherspoon, and was a class-mate of James Madison, late President of the United States ; and of Phillip Freneau, the poet of the Revolution ; and a fellow-student with Wm. Bradford, Attorney General of the U. S. ; of Col. A. Burr, Henry Lee, Governor of Virginia ; Morgan Lewis, Governor of New York ; Aaron Ogden, Governor of New Jersey ; Brockhorst Livingston, Judge of the Supreme Court of the U. S., and other distinguished men. After he was graduated he took license as a preacher of the Gospel, became a Chaplain in the Revolutionary army, preached political sermons and encouraged the soldiers to fight. At the close of the war he studied law and located himself in Pittsburg. He was an accomplished classical scholar, an able and successful lawyer, a man of keen wit and great eccentricity of character. For many years he was at the head of the Bar in western Pennsylvania, and finally he became an Associate Judge in the Supreme Court of the State. He wrote a work called "Modern Chivalry"—a book second in genuine humor only to its great prototype, *Don Quixotte de la Mancha*. At the meeting at Mingo Creek, and in every stage of the insurrection, he exhibited the versatility of

his talents and the eccentricity of his character in a remarkable manner. Although there were several men present who were opposed to the whole movement, no one dared to lisp a word against it. If any one had attempted to do so, he would have been mobbed on the spot.

Mr. Brackenridge being called on to speak, rose and made a camelion speech which might be regarded for or against the insurgents, according to the position of the hearer. He stated that he had come to the meeting not to express the sentiments of the people of Pittsburg, or to propose any measures to be taken, but merely to state what had been done in Pittsburg since the burning of Neville's house. That the Inspector and Marshal had become alarmed and had run away; that the Master of the U. S. Ordnance was also scared; that after boasting that he would protect the Inspector's office in Pittsburg, he had pulled down the sign of the office and had stamped it under his feet. He then told amusing anecdotes and threw out such sallies of wit that men whose muscles had not been relaxed for days, were convulsed with laughter. When he had got his audience in a good humor, he told them that they had got into ticklish circumstances—that what had been done might be morally right, but as a Lawyer, he must say that the acts committed were legally wrong; that it was treason, and that those guilty of treason were liable to be hanged. Having uttered these words, he noticed a scowl on many faces, and that some laid their hands on their rifles—for they had come to the meeting armed. He immediately changed his tone and said, although some of the acts committed were, in the eye of the law, capital crimes, he did not think there was much danger—that the President hated war, that he had seen enough bloodshed, that he was a merciful man, had forgiven the Indians on the borders, had made a treaty, and smoked the calumet of peace with Cornplanter, who had murdered men, women and children—that he would not be more severe with them than he had been with the Savages. He introduced speeches which he supposed had been made by the Secretary of War and the Indian Chiefs, and he placed the Secretary in a ridiculous light. The fact was, the people were displeased with the government for making a treaty with the faithless Indians on the borders. He then extolled the valor of the Western men and their skill with the rifle—that they could pick an eye out of a squirrel on the tallest oak or hickory—that they could make a good defense, if matters came to the worst. But he hoped there would be no need of fighting, provided they acted wisely and prudently—that they ought to consult the wishes of their

fellow citizens in the four counties, so as to have unanimity in their proceedings; and he closed by suggesting that they should do nothing at the present time except invite a meeting of delegates from the four counties, at some future day. Brackenridge and others who were for moderate measures, saw that to argue at this time against violence would be vain, and perhaps dangerous, and they wished to gain time, so that the steam now raised to the highest point, might pass off. A meeting was finally ordered to be held at Parkinson's Ferry on the 14th of August.

After his speech, Mr. B. noticed some of the most violent insurgents talking to each other, and looking at him with suspicious eyes. He slyly slipped out of the house and ordered his horse to be saddled. When ready to mount, a friend in his company remarked that the veil was too thin—that the insurgents saw his design and had marked him as a spy and a traitor. It occurred to him that it would not do to go off suddenly without giving notice. He returned to the meeting, chatted and joked with those near him, and expressed his regret that urgent business required him to be in Pittsburgh at an early hour that evening. He departed, and, in company with his friend, hastened to Pittsburgh. But according to his own account, he rode in great trepidation, looking for liers-in-wait behind every log and tree, and frequently turning his head to see if he was not pursued.

A night or two after the meeting at Mingo creek, Bradford and Marshal lodged at Canonsburg. They had got possession of the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia mail. The post-boy had been attacked and the mail taken from him by two men near Greensburg. One of the robbers was a cousin of Bradford. The object was to ascertain what had been written to the east respecting the disturbance. Col. John Canon and a Mr. Speer, a store-keeper in Canonsburg, were invited to the tavern, and the mail was opened. Letters were found giving sad accounts of the doings, and naming individuals concerned. The letters and papers not referring to this concern, were put into the mail bag and returned to the post office in Pittsburgh. In the course of conversation at the tavern, it was asked what would be done with those known to be concerned in the attack and burning of Neville's house? Bradford replied they would be hung, and suggested that the only way to protect them was to involve the whole Western country in the matter, and that the numbers concerned would prevent extreme measures on the part of the government. To this suggestion the few present assented; and a circular letter was addressed to the Colonels of the

several Regiments in the four Western counties, requiring them to assemble their commands at the usual place of rendezvous, fully equipped with fire-arms and ammunition and four days' provision, and from thence to march to Braddock's fields, so as to arrive on Friday, the 1st of August; that if any of their men had no arms, to bring them on, and arms and ammunition would be furnished; stating that letters had been taken from the mail, making important disclosures; assuring them that they would have an opportunity to display their military skill and valor. This letter was signed by Canon, Bradford, Marshall, Speer and three or four others, and sent by messengers in different directions. The officers in Washington and Allegany generally obeyed the summons. Some, however, put the paper in their pockets, determined to say nothing about it; but their men heard of the call and assembled, and the officers thought it prudent to go with them. From Fayette and the eastern part of Westmoreland very few attended. In Washington county hundreds were forced to drop their scythes and sickles in their harvest field; and as they proceeded in squads to the place of rendezvous, they carried every one with them, willing or unwilling. Those who had horses, rode, those who had not, went on foot. The number assembled on Braddock's field is variously estimated at from five to seven thousand. During the day, men were assembling, some in regiments, some in companies, some in squads of eight or ten; and as they arrived, guns were fired, drums beat, and the hills rang with shouts.

Braddock's fields are on the north side of the Monongahela, near the mouth of Turtle creek, and about eight miles from Pittsburg. The people of that town were greatly alarmed, apprehensive that the design was to attack and burn the place, and perhaps to murder some of the inhabitants. The grounds of apprehension were, that Col. Neville, son of the Inspector, Major Kirkpatrick, and the writers of the intercepted letters were there, and also the U. S. Arsenal. Mr. Brackenridge states that he was greatly terrified, and meditated fleeing from the country; but whither to go he knew not. All the roads leading to and over the mountains he believed were guarded, so as to catch any who might attempt to escape. To go down the Ohio river among strangers, he had not the means, and he seriously thought of crossing the Allegany river and making his way through the woods to some Indian town, and throw himself on the mercy of hostile savages.

A meeting of the inhabitants of Pittsburg was called to determine

what was to be done. After much discussion, it was thought advisable to appoint a Committee to meet the insurgents on Braddock's field as friends, and if they were received as such, well; if not, to make the best terms they could. The Committee, accompanied by other citizens, went, with fear and trembling, and to their great joy, were received in a friendly manner. They joined the Committees from other parts of the country in deliberating on what measures were to be taken.

David Bradford assumed the office of Major General, Mounted on a superb horse in splendid trappings, arrayed in full martial uniform, with plumes floating in the air and sword drawn, he rode over the grounds, gave orders to the military and harangued the multitude. Never was mortal man more flattered than was David Bradford on Braddock's field. Everything depended on his will. The insurgents adored him, and those who hated and despised him, paid him the most servile homage, in order to be able to control and manage him.

The Grand Committee from the different townships spent the night in discussing various projects. It is believed that the real object in calling the people to Braddock's fields was to unite them in sustaining those who had violated the laws of the State and resisted the General Government, and to make them share the common fate. But it would not do to avow this object. Other purposes must be proposed. One was to take the U. S. arsenal in the neighborhood of Pittsburg and to supply themselves with arms and ammunition. To this proposition there were serious objections. These military stores were deposited in the arsenal in preparation to subdue the Indians on their borders; and if the Indians were not subdued, they would break in on Western Pennsylvania, Kentucky and the new settlements on the Ohio. This scheme was abandoned. Another project was to march into Pittsburg and to expel from the place and from the country Col. Neville, Kirkpatrick, the authors of the intercepted letters, and all others known to be unfriendly to their cause. To this project the Committee of Pittsburg objected, believing that in the excited state of those on the field, it could not be done without bloodshed. Finally this project was abandoned on the assurance and solemn pledge that the people of Pittsburg would within eight days banish, or cause to leave the place, all those obnoxious to the people assembled. We may remark that Gen. Neville the Inspector, and the U. S. Marshal, had already made their way down the Ohio to the Kennawha, and from thence through Virginia, over the mountains to Philadelphia. The plan of

the Pittsburg Committee was, if possible, to prevent the people from entering Pittsburg; and if that could not be done, to fall in with the wishes of the insurgents, and under the guise of friends to prevent mischief. It was soon ascertained that to dissuade Bradford and the people from entering Pittsburg was impossible. The Committee then professed to favor the design—invited them with apparent cordiality to visit the town and to receive the hospitality of the citizens, saying that they wished the honor of a visit in order to show the country and the world that although under high provocation, they could behave in an orderly manner, as citizen soldiers ought to do. In carrying out this deception, Brackenridge acted his part so well that he became a favorite with the insurgents, and they forgave the hard words which he had uttered respecting treason and hanging at Mingo Creek.

The invitation to visit Pittsburg was accepted, and the following day they marched to the town. There are two roads leading from Turtle Creek and Braddock's fields to Pittsburg. That traveled by wagon passes down the margin of the Allegheny river. The other, which answered for footmen and horsemen, runs parallel and near to the Monongahela. The Pittsburg Committee, to prevent the militia from coming in sight of the U. S. arsenal and the soldiers who guarded it, advised the Monongahela route. It was taken. And the procession halted on a beautiful open plain, now covered with houses, lying between the town, as it then was, and Grant's Hill. The good people of Pittsburg brought out a plentiful collation of hams, poultry, dried venison and bear meat, not forgetting, as the day was hot, water and whiskey. Mr. Brackenridge tells us that the entertainment cost him four barrels of good old Monongahela; and he assures us that he had much rather lose the whiskey, good as it was, than that a single quart of human blood had been spilled.

As it was neither convenient nor desirable to lodge so many guests in Pittsburg, it was a matter of no small anxiety and difficulty to devise ways and means of transporting the visitors over the river before nightfall. The ferry-boats were not sufficient to carry over the horses as well as the footmen in so short a time. On examination it was found that the horsemen could ford the river on a bar formed at the junction of the Monongahela and the Allegheny. Guides were furnished, and the horsemen passed over in that way. The footmen were carried over in boats; and when the work was finished, care was taken that all the boats should be brought to the Pittsburg side and well secured.

On the hill which overhangs the Monongahela, Major Kirkpatrick owned a farm. In the night the barn was fired, and the hay and grain of the tenant consumed. At the same time an attempt was made to burn Major Kirkpatrick's house in the town; but was unsuccessful, through the interference of some gentlemen in whom the incendiaries had confidence. Thus ended the expedition to Braddock's fields and to Pittsburg.

The citizens of Pittsburg met in town meeting, and after much discussion it was voted that it was expedient that the persons named by the insurgents should leave the town and vicinity according to the stipulation entered into on Braddock's fields. In effecting the object Mr. Brackenridge took an active part, maintaining that the removal of these persons was the only means of averting the fury of an enraged populace. We may as well here as elsewhere state that, by a subsequent vote of the citizens of Pittsburg, the expelled persons were within a few weeks re-called, and that Mr. B. did not favor their return at that time. The part which he took in this matter greatly displeased the persons driven off, and their friends; so that he felt himself in an unpleasant position, through fear of the insurgents on the one hand, and the hatred of the friends of the Government on the other.

He defended himself against the latter in this way: He said he had searched the reports of European and American Courts to find a precedent to justify his conduct; but he had not been successful. In oriental history he had found a case which he thought was perfectly analogous. It was to this effect: Two men were traveling together, and their path lay on the margin of a deep pond of water. One of them slipped and fell into the pond. The bank was higher than the water. He struggled, and could not get out. His companion, seeing he would be drowned, lay down on the bank, reached over and caught the drowning man by the hair and dragged him up the bank; but in coming up, one of his eyes was put out. He was enraged on account of the loss of his eye, and sued his fellow-traveler before the Cadi for destroying his eye. The Cadi was puzzled, and referred the case to the Caliph. The Caliph was also puzzled, and called for the advice of a very learned lawyer, Abbi Joseph. Joseph, having heard the case, gave this decision: that the plaintiff should have his choice of two things, viz: to go back into the pond as he was before, and take his chance of getting out the best way he could, or to be satisfied with the loss of his eye. I make, said Brackenridge, the same offer to these men. Let them be placed in the same position they were, and

fall into the hands of the insurgents, or let them be content with the inconvenience they have suffered in being driven from home for a short time.

During this period of misrule, serious acts of violence were done. In the cant language of the day, *Tom the Tinker and his boys* were busily engaged. Inflammatory articles were published in the newspapers and posted up in handbills. Liberty poles were erected, and labeled with *liberty, no excise, and death to traitors*. Registered stills were destroyed, and the house of Wells, excise-man in Westmoreland county, was burnt. Fear and distrust pervaded the community. Those who were opposed to these unlawful doings dared not communicate their sentiments to their neighbors, who perhaps were equally opposed to these transactions. A single example will show the state of things. On a week day there was a religious meeting and a lecture in the academy at Canonsburg. After the service was closed and the people had gone out, John McDowell, a very respectable man, an elder in the Presbyterian church, and who had represented the county in the State Legislature, stood on the steps of the academy and exhorted the people to have no participation in these unlawful proceedings, saying they were wicked, and would end in the ruin of those concerned. That as Christians they were bound to obey the laws of the land, however oppressive they might be. What he said was reported abroad, and an attempt was made to burn his barn, and severe threats were uttered against his person.

At first good men stood aloof, remained at home and attended to their business, except when taken by force and compelled to assist in erecting liberty poles, and to be present at public gatherings. After the outrages were committed, they were restrained by prudence or timidity from making known their real sentiments. My own opinion is, that if when the fury was at its height, the people of the western counties could have expressed their opinions by secret ballot, a large majority would have been against these unlawful proceedings. This opinion we think is confirmed by the fact that in October following, before the fury had subsided, Albert Gallatin, although he did not reside in the district, was elected a member of Congress to represent the counties of Washington and Allegany. Gallatin, as we shall see in the sequel, was a conservative opposed to mob law. Two other candidates had been in the field canvassing the counties for several weeks. Gallatin was nominated by a few men in the vicinity of Canonsburg, only three days before the election, and yet he was elected by a large

majority over both his rivals. This is the first time this distinguished man appeared in the councils of our nation, and his public career from that time is well known, and need not be described. His name fills a large and honored place in the history of our country. Perhaps it is not known to some present, that at the time under consideration, he resided in an obscure part of Fayette county, on the Monongahela near the mouth of Cheat river, on the border of Virginia. He had established a glass manufactory, and built up a small village called New Geneva, in memory of his native place. He had imported workmen from Germany, and the business was profitable to himself, and beneficial to the western country. In his absence, attending the National Legislature, some of his best workmen were decoyed away by promises of higher wages, by capitalists in Pittsburg. This is the origin of those splendid glass-works in that city, whose wares surpass any in this country, and rival the best manufactures of Europe. You will please distinctly to notice that Gallatin was not present at any of the meetings which we have mentioned; and yet it has been asserted and believed by many that he was the head and leader of the insurrection. He was not at the burning of Neville's house; he was not at Mingo creek when the meeting at Parkinson's ferry was appointed; he was not at Braddock's fields or Pittsburg. He was at home some fifty or sixty miles distant, attending to his business. Shortly before the meeting at Parkinson's ferry, he attended a meeting of the distillers of Fayette county in Union Town, after writs had been served on those who had not registered their stills, and no doubt gave his counsel in reference to the measures adopted. At this meeting two resolutions were passed: First, That distillers would register their stills and pay the duty, or they would abandon the business. Second, That those on whom writs had been served, would employ legal counsel and enter their appearance in the U. S. Court east of the mountains. In these resolutions there is nothing but what every good citizen in similar circumstances ought to do. At this meeting, letters of invitation to appoint delegates to attend the meeting at Parkinson's ferry were received and read, but no vote was passed, or even a motion made to accept the invitation. A few days before the meeting at Parkinson's, Gallatin attended a military training in his neighborhood, and as it was understood that other townships in Fayette had appointed delegates to Parkinson's ferry, he was chosen to represent his township, and he consented to go. And this was the first time he attended any meeting growing out of the insurrection.

It will be recollected that every meeting which had previously taken place was a mass meeting, and that every one present had a right to speak and to vote and to act as he pleased or rather as the leaders might dictate. The meeting at Parkinson's ferry was to be a meeting of delegates from each of the townships in the four counties. Letters of invitation had also been sent to Bedford county, Pa., and to the adjacent counties of Virginia.

From Bedford county Pa., two delegates attended, and from Ohio county, Va., six. So that six counties were partially represented. The whole number of delegates in attendance was two hundred and twenty-six, and a much greater number of spectators.

The place of meeting was very unfavorable to calm deliberation. It was on the western bank of the Monongahela, not far from Mingo Creek, the cradle of the insurrection, and only one mile from the house of Major McFarlane, who was killed in the attack on Neville's house. The meeting was held in the open air, under the shade of native trees. Col. Cook was appointed chairman, and Albert Gallatin secretary. Gallatin was very reluctant to act as secretary, but as he was unanimously called on to act in that capacity, he thought he ought not to decline.

David Bradford opened the meeting with a long speech, relating what had been done at Neville's house, stating that Neville had discharged the first gun. He placed every thing done by the insurgents in a favorable light, read the intercepted letters, gave an account of the expulsion of the letter-writers at Braddock's fields, and finally said they were now called on to decide the mode in which the common cause was to be maintained, and suggested what ought to be done, viz.: to procure arms and ammunition, to subscribe money, raise volunteers or draft militia, to appoint committees, to have the superintendence of the several departments. Col. John Marshall supported the suggestions of Bradford, and read five resolutions which he had previously prepared. The first resolution complained of the injustice of requiring the people of the Western country to attend the federal courts, three hundred miles from their residence. To this resolution no objection was made. The second resolution respected making preparation to resist, provided the rights of the Western people were infringed. This was opposed by Gallatin, as unnecessary and improper at the present time. Brackenridge affected to oppose Gallatin in order to make the people believe he was on their side, but he came to the same conclusion with Gallatin for different reasons.

The third and fourth resolutions were modified at the suggestion of Brackenridge without much difficulty. The fifth resolution was that they would support the laws and government of their respective States, and those of the U. S., the excise law, and the taking away citizens from their respective counties excepted.

Gallatin endeavored to show that injury to persons and property in opposing the excise law could not be done without violating the laws of the State. He alluded to the burning of Kirkpatrick's barn, &c. When he mentioned the burning of the barn, one of the delegates called out, "What! do you blame that?" Gallatin was embarrassed, and paused for a moment, and on recovering himself said, "If you had burned Kirkpatrick in it, it might have been something; but the barn had done no harm." "Aye, aye," said the hot-headed men, "that's right enough." The incident shows how difficult it was to manage these people, and how adroitly Gallatin avoided an uproar. The five resolutions were then committed to Gallatin, Bradford, Brackenridge, and Herman Husbands, to be put in due form. The second resolution was amended by this committee so as in a great measure to remove its warlike character. Still Bradford, contrary to the wishes of Gallatin, insisted that these words should be added: *And in case of any sudden emergency to take such measures as they* (i.e. the Committee of Safety) *may think proper.*

The fifth resolution was confined to the maintainence of the municipal laws of the State, because it was morally certain that to support the excise law could not be carried. The resolutions as amended by the Committee were adopted by the Delegates without much difficulty. A Standing Committee of sixty, called the Committee of Safety, one from each township, was then chosen by the Delegates present, from their own number. This Committee agreed to meet at Brownsville on the second day of September.

During this meeting, the Commissioners of the State and of the General Government arrived on the opposite side of the river, and this occasioned great difficulty. The people assembled wished to have a conference and to know immediately what was to be done. The friends of peace and order knew it would be of no avail, and would probably, in the temper the people then were, produce disastrous consequences. They succeeded in having a committee of twelve, three from each of the four counties, appointed to meet the Commissioners at Pittsburg.

On the second day of the meeting at Parkinson's, the proclamation

of Washington arrived and was read, and it produced anger and rage. The idea of drafting militia to quell the insurrection, and the charge of being guilty of treason, made them think they should arm themselves in defense.

It is to be recollected that the delegates on this occasion did not represent the true sentiments of the people. The peaceable part of the community remained at home and attended to their harvest when these delegates were chosen, and some good men chosen refused to attend. The Committee of Sixty were also chosen from those present, and of course it was not a fair representation. On the morning of the meeting a liberty pole was erected, and the following inscription attached: *Equal Taxation and no Excise!—No Asylum for Traitors and Cowards!*

The spectators also were chiefly of those who had been concerned in the previous riots. During the whole of this meeting, Mr. Brackenridge conducted in such a way as to make the insurgents believe he was on their side; yet by his management he greatly aided in carrying out the views of Gallatin. So equivocal was his conduct that Gallatin himself did not know on which side Brackenridge was. James Ross, Senator of the U. S. and one of the Commissioners appointed by the President, understood the maneuvering of Brackenridge, and made to him some important suggestions, which Brackenridge executed in his own way. Wm. Finley, a member of Congress from Westmoreland, was present, but took no active part except in advising with those who were for peace. James Edgar, from Buffalo, Washington county, was there as a delegate, and rendered important service by his influence and counsel. This truly great and good man, little known beyond the precincts of Washington county, was a native of North Carolina, and had removed to Western Pennsylvania at an early period. He had a good English education, had improved his mind by reading and reflection, so that in theological and political knowledge he was superior to many professional men. He had as clear a head and as pure a heart as falls to the lot of mortals, and he possessed an eloquence which, although not polished, was convincing and persuasive. Yet he lived in retirement on his farm, except when the voice of his neighbors called him forth to serve the Church or the State. He was a ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church, one of the Associate Judges of Washington Co., had been a member of the Convention of Pennsylvania at the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and had occasionally represented his county in the State Legislature.

During the time of these troubles, I recollect to have heard him at Buffalo, on Monday after a sacramental occasion, address a congregation of at least two thousand people, on the subject of the insurrection, with a clearness of argument, a solemnity of manner, and a tenderness of Christian eloquence which reached the understanding and penetrated the heart of every hearer. The consequence was that very few in his neighborhood were concerned in the lawless riots. Yet his persuasive voice could not stay the fury of the people at Parkinson's Ferry.

On the 20th of August the conferees or Committee of twelve met the Commissioners of the State and of the General Government at Pittsburg. Thomas McKean, the Chief Justice of the State, and Gen. William Irwin, were Commissioners in behalf of Pennsylvania; and William Bradford, Attorney General of the U. S., Caspar Yates and James Ross on the part of the General Government. The Commissioners on the part of the U. S. proposed an amnesty of all offenses before that date, and certain beneficial arrangements for adjusting delinquencies and prosecutions for penalties now pending.

The Commissioners in behalf of the State proposed an amnesty of all indictable offenses against the laws of the State, on condition of keeping the peace and complying with the terms proposed by the U. S. In both cases the terms proposed were to be accepted by the Committee of Safety, which was to meet at Brownsville. Among the Committee of twelve from the people were Gallatin, Brackenridge, Marshall, and David Bradford. They all agreed to the terms proposed except Bradford; and after a private conference with some of the Commissioners, he also assented to the terms proposed. Before the close of the meeting at Parkinson's Ferry, Marshall seemed to waver, and to be looking for some way to back out. An opportunity was now offered. The only thing which the Committee of twelve asked more than what was offered, was longer time; believing the people could not be brought to change their mind in so short a period. This could not be granted. And the Commissioners of the Government required the Committee of Sixty to meet at Brownsville five days sooner than the time appointed, viz: on the 28th of August, instead of the 2d of September.

While the Government Commissioners were in Pittsburg, a liberty pole was erected in front of their lodgings, with the usual inscription of rebellion. On the morning of the conference, a very ill-advised handbill was posted up at the market-house, under the title of the In-

dian Treaty. These doings made a very unfavorable impression on the minds of the Commissioners, and of course were reported to the Government. Mr. Brackenridge was charged with being the author of the Indian Treaty; but it was afterwards proved that he was not.

On the 28th of August, the Committee of sixty, called the Committee of Safety, met at Brownsville to receive the report of the Committee of twelve, and were surrounded with a large number of spectators, chiefly from the infected district. And about the time the meeting was organized, a company of sixty or seventy riflemen, attended by a troop of horse, appeared on the ground, paraded through the streets with drum and fife, and finally arranged themselves among the spectators to see what was going on. This meeting was also held in the open air. Those of the Committee who were for submission, believed the military intended to overawe them, and those who were for continued resistance, concluded that the riflemen designed to enforce their wishes by power of arms. The one party rejoiced, and the other trembled. The Committee of twelve dared not make their report which was in favor of accepting the conditions proposed.

After some time it was ascertained that the riflemen and horse, without knowing that the Committee of Sixty were to meet at Brownsville on that day, had come for a different purpose. In the vicinity of Brownsville there was a wealthy and very respectable man of the Society of Friends, usually called Quakers, who, some time before, in jest, had called the Committee of Safety "the Scrub Congress." And these riflemen had come twenty or thirty miles to chastise him; that is, to tar and feather him, to burn his house or a mill which he owned on the Redstone near Brownsville. As soon as these facts were ascertained, the Committee of Sixty informed the riflemen that they could not permit the execution of their purpose—that the Committee of Safety were invested with plenary powers to administer justice, to punish all offenses against themselves and the people of the four counties. Accordingly, to prevent violence, they ordered Samuel Jackson (for that was the offender's name,) to be brought before them that they might hear the case, and if found guilty, prescribe the punishment. Jackson was brought. A tall, thin man, with a broad-brimmed hat and straight-breasted drab coat; and he stood in the presence of his judges and accusers with a firm and unmoved countenance, not knowing whether life or death awaited him. The charge was proved by two witnesses. The question was, what should be done with the culprit? Mr. Brackenridge very gravely proposed that he

should be punished according to the Jewish law—"an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." He eulogized this law as one of the most just, reasonable and humane laws ever enacted; that it required injuries to be punished in kind, just in proportion to the offense—neither more nor less. If, said he, a man should insult you by pulling your nose, you are not to knock him down, because you might hurt him more than he had hurt you. Nor are you to send him a polite note requesting the honor of exchanging a shot with him, because you might kill him, or he might kill you; but you are to do to him precisely as he had done to you—that is, pull his nose. He also told an anecdote respecting the manner in which Oliver Cromwell punished a man who had used insulting language towards him. And although this was the most effective part of his speech, I shall not repeat it. My proposition, continued Brackenridge, is that we punish this man according to the Jewish law, and after the example of that illustrious republican, Oliver Cromwell. And whereas it has been proved that Samuel Jackson has called us, the Honorable the Representatives of the four Western Counties of Pennsylvania, "the Scrub Congress," no matter whether in jest or in earnest, I move that we pay him in his own coin—that we call him "*a scrub*," and that he be known by the name of Scrub Samuel as long as the world lasts, and then we shall be even with him. This motion was carried by acclamation, amidst a tremendous roar, in which the riflemen heartily joined. Jackson apologised and ordered a couple of buckets of whiskey to be brought out, took a drink with the riflemen, and they parted good friends.

Although the matter which brought the riflemen to Brownsville was amicably adjusted, they still remained on the ground until near night, and deterred the Committee of twelve from making their report. As soon as the military had departed, the conferees made their report. The report was in favor of accepting the terms proposed by the Government. Notwithstanding his apparent acquiescence when in Pittsburg, Bradford urged the rejection of the terms without delay. He said the conditions were so degrading that no one who had the spirit of a freeman could hesitate a moment.

James Edgar begged for a little time for consideration before they took a step which might involve the country in a civil war. In a strain of keen irony, which Bradford seemed to take for truth, he extolled the talents, learning, penetration and courage of the eloquent gentleman. He said that Mr. Bradford could see by intuition into the most

difficult subjects, and that when he saw the path of duty plain before him, he had courage and skill adequate to every emergency. For his own part he was slow of apprehension ; he could not at once, like the gentleman who urged an immediate decision, know what might be said against the motion. He wanted a little time to think the subject over, and perhaps he might be brought to see his way clear to follow the gentleman as his leader. There might be others in the same state of mind with himself ; and he appealed to the gentleman's acknowledged candor and liberality to give his weaker brethren a little time to think of the subject ; that unanimity in so important a crisis was greatly to be desired.

An adjournment until the next morning took place. Immediately after the adjournment, Bradford crossed the Monongahela and lodged on the same side of the river with the riflemen, who had gone over a short time before him. This circumstance gave rise to the belief that he had passed the night with those armed men, and that he would probably return in the morning with them, and compel the Committee of Sixty to reject the proposals of the Commissioners on the part of the Government. In the morning Bradford returned without the military ; still it was feared that they were waiting for orders from him to appear. This idea greatly embarrassed the proceedings of the day.

Between Gallatin, Brackenridge and Edgar there was a dispute who should speak first. The two latter refused, and Gallatin with some reluctance commenced. It was admitted by all who heard him that Gallatin on no other occasion ever delivered so able and convincing an argument. He explained the nature of our Government, the duties of rulers and of their constituents, the necessity of submitting to laws which bore hard on a particular part of the community, until they could be altered in a regular constitutional way. His speech was long, calm and intellectual, containing no expressions calculated to irritate or create angry feelings. Brackenridge followed in a more animated strain. He appealed to the fears of the people—stated the dangers to which they were exposed. He said the General and State Governments had taken steps, from which they could not recede. The Western people could not refuse submission to a particular law, and at the same time remain a part of the Government. Hemmed in from commerce by the mountains on one side, and on the other by the Indians and British, the mouth of the Mississippi blocked up by the Spanish, they must become isolated and independent. An alliance with either

of these was impossible. They had no military stores, nor means of procuring them. The Government was raising an army to subdue them. Can you, he asked, defeat an army of 15,000 men? Can you drive back an army of twice that number if the first be repulsed? Where are your arms, your ammunition, your money to feed and clothe your soldiers? You have brave men—men skilled in the use of fire-arms; but yield you must, sooner or later, and then follows confiscation and imprisonment, and hanging of those who survive.

When Brackenbridge closed, James Edgar commenced a most solemn address. He dwelt chiefly on their moral obligations to the Government under which they lived—that by their Representatives in Convention they had adopted the Federal Constitution—that they had elected legislative, and executive officers—that the legislative, judicial and executive officers had sworn to support the Government, and that the people had put themselves under the protection of the laws, all which acts was a solemn acknowledgment of their allegiance. To violate these obligations was to break the most sacred and solemn ties that could bind man to man, or man to God. If these things were allowed to take place, no confidence could be placed in each other. The most solemn promises and contracts would not be binding; and men calling themselves Christians could place less confidence in each other than in the savages on their borders. He described in a touching manner the distressing situation into which they had brought themselves by their inconsiderate acts—that through sympathy with their friends, many had involved themselves in perilous circumstances—that to persist in resistance would involve the innocent with the guilty in one common ruin; and that he did not deem it unbecoming to say that those who refused submission must answer at the bar of God for the blood that would be shed in a civil war. He dwelt on these topics at great length, and expostulated with his fellow-citizens in the most tender and affecting manner.

These speeches were delivered without any previous preparation, except a full knowledge of the subject and a deep feeling as to the result. Of course, much of the matter and the whole of the manner can never be regained.

Bradford then rose, and contrary to his engagements with the Commissioners of the Government, he opposed the acceptance of the propositions in the most violent terms. He spoke of resources, of arms and ammunition—of the valor of the Western men—of their skill with the rifle, to which they had been accustomed from their child-

hood. We will meet, said he, our foes in one of those narrow passes in the mountains where four men cannot walk abreast. We will hurl down upon them the rocks from above—defeat the first army that enters the mountains, take their arms and baggage, and then we will be doubly able to defeat any army that may be sent against us ; and much more in the same strain.

The question was then put, “Shall a vote be taken?” and decided in the negative—not a single person rising except the Committee of twelve. It was perceived that the members of the General Committee were afraid to let their sentiments be known, and the question was put—“Shall the vote be taken by ballot?” And again no one rose except the Committee of twelve. It was then proposed that the Secretary should write on slips of paper, as much alike as possible, “Aye” on one end, and “No” on the other—that one of these should be delivered to each, and he should take which end he pleased, so that no one could possibly know how another voted. This was agreed to. The question was then on the following resolution, viz : “That in the opinion of this Committee, it is the interest of the people of this country to accede to the proposals made by the Commissioners of the U. S.” The result was, 34 ayes and 23 noes.

I ought to have mentioned that during the meeting hand bills were circulated, signed by *Tom the Tinker*, asserting that the Committee of twelve had been bribed at Pittsburg—that the Commissioners had come over the mountains with their saddle-bags loaded with gold, and had induced the Committee of twelve to agree to the terms of the amnesty. Tar and feathers and burning were threatened to those who should vote for submission on the terms proposed. The truth is that the fear of the mob prevented many from following the dictates of their own sober judgment.

After the vote, finding that a majority were against him, Bradford left the ground. It was voted that the Committee of twelve should again wait on the Commissioners of the Government, and, if possible, obtain better terms. And as the first Committee refused to act, a new one was appointed, and repaired to Pittsburg. Their first proposition not being unanimously accepted, the Commissioners changed the terms and required that every individual in the four western counties should, before or on the 11th of September, sign a promise to abstain from all acts of violence, and to aid in the execution of the laws—the excise included—as a condition of amnesty. The Committee earnestly requested longer time, so that the people might be brought to

understand the situation in which they were placed. But it could not be granted. Only ten days intervened between the offer of new terms and the day on which each individual should secure an amnesty of the past by a written promise of submission to the laws. Four of these days passed before the terms of submission were printed, leaving only six days to circulate information over a region much larger than New Jersey. There was no opportunity to instruct the people respecting what was to be done. The consequence was that in some places the people did not meet at all. In others, a few of the most turbulent met in their election districts, and the peaceable, who had no concern in the riots, remained at home; or if they went, they were overawed by threats. In the district where the disorders commenced, and in some other places, many went to the meetings armed, determined to prevent, by force, signing the conditions of escaping the penalties incurred. Some refused to sign because they had had no concern in the riots. Thus in Fayette county very few signed, because they had permitted the U. S. Marshal to serve his writs, and had entered into cognizance to answer before the U. S. Court. No writs had been served in Westmoreland, and no injury had been done except by a few individuals who had burned the Collector's house.

On the day of signing, there were several examples of mean and cowardly conduct. Men who blustered and swore they would be death to any one who would put his hand to the paper, came to the magistrate after others had been withdrawn, and begged with tears to be permitted to sign, and after they had signed, denied to those whom they had led astray that they had signed. The truth is that many were convinced of their guilt and danger, and yet they were afraid of those around them. And the very persons of whom they were afraid were kept back from the same motive. No one dared to avow his real sentiments.

All the Commissioners of the Government had returned to Philadelphia before the day of signing except James Ross, who remained to carry the signatures to the Government. Two scoundrels who, armed with rifles, had prevented their neighbors from signing, followed Mr. Ross a day's journey, giving out when they left home that they were going to take the papers from him, but when they overtook him, they begged him to carry their names to the President as submissive citizens. Bradford and Marshall signed on the day appointed. Bradford made a long speech, and exhorted the people to submit, putting his own submission on the ground that he was deserted by others. Be-

fore the Army arrived he left the country and fled to New Orleans, and he never returned. He was aware that his speeches at Brownsville, on the 28th and 29th of August, excluded him from the benefit of the amnesty; for it did not embrace acts done after the 22d of that month. Brackenbridge was absent attending a court at Greensburg, and did not return to Pittsburg on the day of signing until it was too late, and he signed the next morning.

The report of the Commissioners was so unfavorable, that the President thought it necessary to send over the mountains the army already collected. But within a few days after Mr. Ross left with the papers signed, a sudden and great change took place in the sentiments and conduct of the insurgents, and a meeting of the Committee of Safety was called at Parkinson's ferry, on the 2d of October.

At this meeting, Wm. Finley and David Reddick were appointed Commissioners to wait on the President and to assure him that submission and order could be restored without the aid of military force. Without delay they crossed the mountains, and met the President with the army at Carlisle. As they approached Carlisle, they received the most alarming accounts of the excitement and rage of the army against the Western people, and they were advised by persons in whom they had confidence, not to enter or pass through Carlisle; that disorder and insubordination prevailed in the camp; that two men, one in Lebanon and the other near Carlisle, had been killed, and that threats of taking summary justice on the insurgents were freely uttered. On entering Carlisle they found that the report of the excitement and insubordination of the army had not been exaggerated. The tavern-keeper with whom they lodged, and others advised the Commissioners not to appear in the streets. In short, there appeared to be as strong a disposition in the army as there had been in the insurgents to enforce Lynch law. It required all the authority and influence of Washington to maintain order and subordination in the army. The truth is, that in order to rouse the militia of New Jersey and the lower part of Pennsylvania, exaggerated accounts, if that were possible, of the doings of the Whiskey Boys had been circulated, and the papers of Tom the Tinker had been distributed. In these papers Tom had ridiculed the Jersey militia, calling them "The Water Melon Army," telling them they had better stay at home and thrash their buckwheat, or if they mast fight, to make war on the crabs and oysters in their bays rather than meet the Whiskey Boys. A song written by Gov. Howell and sung in the camp, had no small effect in inspiring the militia with

patriotic ardor to put down the rebellion.* Finley and Reddick were not molested except with opprobrious language in the streets. They called on the President and were politely received, and had several interviews with him, generally in the presence of Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury. They made known to the President the great change that had taken place in the views and feelings of the people west of the mountains after the Commissioners of the Government had returned. That the great body of the people who had no concern in the disorders, remained quietly at home and attended to their business, had become convinced that the violence used would ruin the country. That they had formed themselves into associations to suppress disorder and to promote submission to the laws; that the most disastrous consequences were apprehended from taking over the mountains an army so excited as that collected. Washington received the communication with great attention, and replied in substance that the chief expense of the army had already been incurred, and that he would unite the disorderly part of the army with those whose good conduct could be relied on, and he apprehended no injury would be done to the property or persons of the people, provided no resistance was made; but if a single gun was fired he could not answer for the consequences. The Commissioners returned, called a meeting of the Committee of Safety at Parkinson's ferry, and made their report. At this meeting assurances were received from all parts of the country that resistance to the laws had been abandoned, and that no excise officer would be molested in the execution of his duties.

The same Commissioners, with two additional, were appointed to meet the President at Bedford, and inform him of the state of the country. When they arrived at Bedford, they found that the President having visited the left division of the army, consisting of the Virginia and Maryland militia assembled at Cumberland on the Potomac, had been at Bedford, and had returned to Philadelphia before they arrived.

They then returned to Union Town, and had an interview with Henry Lee, Governor of Virginia, whom Washington had appointed major-general of the expedition. They were received by him with great civility, and assured that no exertions would be wanting on his part to prevent injury to the persons and property of the peaceable

* This song, and a journal kept during the expedition, by Major William Gould, of the Jersey Troops, will be found in the Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society, Vol. III.

inhabitants. The right division of the army advanced from Bedford into Westmoreland county. The foot halted and encamped for several weeks, a mile and a half east of the Youghiogany river, so that from this central position they could reach any part of the country where resistance was likely to be made. The horse proceeded to the vicinity of Parkinson's Ferry. Those encamped near the Youghiogany made sad havoc on the poultry, pigs, and cattle in the neighborhood. Complaints of these depredations were so frequent, that general orders were issued that those detected in plundering would be severely punished. But in many cases the officers deemed it prudent to connive at the violations of the general orders. Jonathan Forman, of Monmouth county, N. J., who had been an officer in the Revolutionary war, and who commanded a regiment in the Western expedition, told me this trick played upon him. Soon after the general orders against plundering had been issued, two of his men came to him one morning, told him they had been out hunting the day previous, and had shot a nice young bear, and requested him to accept a quarter for dinner. It was the quarter of a shoat or young hog, which they had skinned, and made look as much like bear meat as they could. He accepted the present, dined on it, and praised the delicious flavor of the bear meat, thinking it better to be deceived than to punish his neighbors, who at home were on an equality with him.

Companies of horsemen were scattered in different directions over the country, and as there was no opposition, it was thought the army was about to return. On the night of the 13th of November, a frosty night, about one o'clock, the horse was sallied forth, and before daylight arrested in their beds about two hundred men. A company of Virginia horse were stationed for several days near Canonsburg, and I give the manner of their proceeding as a sample of what probably occurred in other places. About two o'clock in the morning they surrounded the house where I lodged, and some came in and ordered my landlord, an old man, to rise and guide them to a neighborhood about eight miles distant, where he was well acquainted. He had no horse. They inquired where a horse could be found. He named two or three places. They wanted a guide to the stables. The old man had no servant in the house. Two boys belonging to the Academy lodged in an upper chamber. The older one, of an impetuous temper, had talked big in favor of the insurgents, and he believed the horsemen had come to arrest him, and he lay trembling in bed. The younger, more considerate, had always condemned the insurgents. Conscious of innocence

he jumped up and ran down stairs half dressed, to see what was going on. The horsemen slapped him with their scabbards, and ordered him to show them the stables. He had to go, and run about a quarter of a mile without shoes, frosty as it was. No horse was found at the first stable, and then he had to run as far in a different direction, and happily found a horse. The epithets, young insurgent, with additional hard words, were liberally applied with an occasional slap to quicken his steps. This lad was afterwards the Rev. Dr. O. Jennings, of Nashville, Tenn.

My own lodgings were in a back-room below stairs, in company with a student of the Academy several years older than I was. He was a sober, pious young man, who had been compelled to go to the burning of Neville's house, and also to Braddock's Fields. On hearing the noise I made an attempt to rise, but my friend, believing the men with swords were in search of him, begged me to lie still. There he lay, with head covered, trembling and panting until the horsemen had departed. In justice to the Virginia, Maryland, and Philadelphia horsemen, it must be said they made arrests and treated their prisoners with as much gentleness and humanity as practicable. Yet we can easily imagine what terror seized mothers, and sisters, and wives, when their sons, and brothers, and husbands were taken out of bed, and carried off they knew not whither. That night was afterwards called "the dismal night."

To the New Jersey horsemen was assigned the duty of arresting those who resided in Mingo Creek settlement, the region where the insurrection commenced, and where the most disgraceful acts of violence had been committed. Whether this region was assigned by accident to the New Jersey horsemen, or that they might have an opportunity of taking revenge for the insults Tom the Tinker had offered, calling the Jersey militia the Water Melon Army, &c., we know not. But the universal testimony is, that arrests were made in that region accompanied with circumstances of barbarity and terror seldom equalled. Men were dragged out of their beds loaded with curses, threatened with hanging and death in the presence of their wives and children, and not permitted to collect clothes necessary to protect them from the inclemency of the season, and driven off on foot when they had horses in their stables. About forty of these men were brought to a house near Parkinson's Ferry, and thrust into a wet and muddy cellar, tied two and two back to back, and kept there twenty-four hours without food or drink. A fire was kindled for the guard, but the pris-

oners were not suffered to come near it, nor was the owner of the house permitted to do anything to relieve the sufferings of his neighbors. The following day they were driven twelve miles on foot, through mud and water to Washington. During this march, instances of cruelty are told too bad to be repeated. This treatment was attributed to the commanding officer rather than to the men. Indeed, the men when they saw their prisoners exhausted with hunger and fatigue ready to faint, alighted from their horses, placed their prisoners on their saddles, and waded themselves through mud nearly knee deep. A large number of prisoners from Washington county were collected together in the county town, and taken thence to Pittsburg under guard. The object in taking them to Pittsburg was that they might be examined by the District Judge, so as to ascertain which of them ought to be taken to Philadelphia for trial. I saw them when on their way, as they entered Canonsburg, and were placed in a large upper room in the Academy, to lodge for the night. They were conducted by the Philadelphia and New Jersey cavalry. The contrast between the Philadelphia horsemen and the prisoners was the most striking that can be imagined. The Philadelphians were some of the most wealthy and respectable men of that city. Their uniform was blue, of the finest broadcloth. Their horses were large and beautiful, all of a bay color, so nearly alike that it seemed any two of them would have made a good span of coach horses. Their trappings were superb. Their bridles, stirrups, and martingales glittered with silver. Their swords, which were drawn and held elevated in the right hand gleamed in the rays of the setting sun. The prisoners were also mounted on horses, of all shapes, sizes, and colors; some large, some small, some long tails, some short, some white, some black, some fat, some lean, some of every color and form that can be named. Some had saddles, some blankets, some bridles, some halters, some with stirrups, some with none. The riders also were as various and grotesque in their appearance. Some were old, some young, some hale, respectable looking men, others were pale, meager, and shabbily dressed. Some had great coats, others had blankets on their shoulders. The countenance of some was downcast, melancholy, dejected; that of others stern, indignant, manifesting that they thought themselves undeserving such treatment. Two Philadelphia horsemen rode in front, and then two prisoners, and so two horsemen and two prisoners alternately throughout a line extending perhaps half a mile. I have more than once seen gangs of fifty or sixty negroes tied to a long rope, two and

two opposite to each other, and marched to a distant slave-market, but their anguish and indignation was not to be compared to that manifested by these western men. If these men had been the ones chiefly guilty of the disturbance it would have been no more than they deserved. But the guilty had signed the amnesty, or had left the country before the army approached. It has been estimated that between one and two thousand men with rifles in their hands, had withdrawn and remained absent until the army left the country. The District Judge and the Prosecuting Attorney had a most arduous and delicate task to discriminate between those who were guilty and those who were innocent; and the great number arrested made it impossible for a single judge to examine within any reasonable time the case of each individual. There were several persons not clothed with judicial authority, who assisted in making preliminary examinations. Among these, Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, took an active and distinguished part.

To the Secretary the country owes much. Through his intelligence and energy the finances of the country, in a deranged and bankrupt state, were restored to system and order; and means were provided for paying at least in part, the debts of the Revolutionary war, and of giving confidence in the pecuniary responsibilities of the General Government. But as Mr. Hamilton and those who acted with him were not acquainted with the people in Western Pennsylvania, they made many mistakes. They dismissed, as innocent, some who were among the most guilty; while they doomed others, perfectly innocent, to be carried to Philadelphia on charge of treason. It was natural that the Secretary of the Treasury, finding his financial arrangements violently opposed, should be chafed and irritated. He crossed the mountains prepossessed with the idea that some leading and distinguished men in that country, such as William Finley, Albert Gallatin, H. H. Brackenridge and John Smiley were the authors of the rebellion; and when he could not obtain evidence of the fact, he charged the persons examined with prevarication and falsehood, and even intimated to them that their own safety depended on implicating men who had done all they could to quell the insurrection.

I omit several cases of this kind that might be mentioned, and notice only that of Mr. Brackenridge, as stated by himself. Mr. B. was two days closeted in a private room, under examination by the Secretary. In the course of the examination, Mr. Hamilton suggested that witnesses who were not candid in giving testimony against others,

could not expect to avail themselves of the benefits of the amnesty. And as Mr. Brackenridge was proceeding with his narrative, the Secretary remarked, "I observe, Sir, one leading trait in your account—a disposition to excuse the principal actors; and before we go further, I must be candid and inform you of the delicate situation in which you stand. You are not within the amnesty. You did not sign upon the day; and although the Government may not be disposed to act rigorously, yet you are in its power, and it will depend on the candor of your account, what your fate will be." Mr. B. answered, "It is true, Sir, I am not within the amnesty. I did not sign on the day; and I am sensible of the extent of the power of the Government; but were the narrative to begin again, I would not change a single word."

In his history of the Western Insurrection, Mr. Finley attributes the exertions of the Secretary of the Treasury to find evidence against Gallatin, Smiley and himself, not to an honest belief that they had fostered and encouraged the insurrection, but to a desire to destroy their influence with the people, because they were opposed to his official acts.

I cannot believe that Mr. Hamilton acted from any such unworthy motive; but that he was led to believe that these men were at the foundation of the rebellion, and that he wished to ascertain the real actors and those who urged it forward. Yet I am as fully persuaded that these men never advised any other than constitutional measures to obtain the repeal of the excise law, which they knew operated very unequally and oppressively on the people west of the mountains. I want no other proof of this than that the people in the neighborhood of Finley, Gallatin and Smiley, and with whom they had frequent intercourse, were quiet during the disturbance, and not one of them was charged with a single misdemeanor. It is true that Gallatin acted as Secretary at the first meeting at Parkinson's Ferry, and that one of the resolutions signed by him, as Secretary, had a warlike aspect. But it is equally true that he modified and softened the other resolutions, and that he opposed, in Select Committee, that which spoke of resistance in certain contingencies; and having borne testimony against the resolution, he signed it as the Secretary of the meeting. If he had done otherwise, he must have refused to act as Secretary, and lost all influence with the people and suffered them to go headlong to ruin.

It will be recollected that during the disturbance Mr. Brackenridge was in great fear of being mobbed by the insurgents. When the army was approaching he thought he saw a storm, still more appalling,

arising from another quarter. The part he took in expelling Col. Neville and others from Pittsburg had enraged them against him. These men had gone to Philadelphia, and, as he feared, had prejudiced the Government and the officers of the army against him. He thought of leaving the country; but through the advice of his friends, he determined to remain and abide the issue. When Gen. Morgan, who commanded the Virginia Dragoons, arrived in Pittsburg, some of his men, at a late hour in the night, after Mr. Brackenridge had retired, broke into his yard, and were about to enter his house. His servants ran and informed the General, and he came bare-headed and dispersed his men. Concerning this transaction, Brackenridge quaintly remarks, that he was very thankful to Gen. Morgan for saving his life; yet the General "had no objections to having him conducted out of the world in a legal way." It seems the General made great exertions afterwards to find proof that Brackenridge was guilty of treason.

When Brackenridge observed the manner in which witnesses were examined—the implied promises of impunity if testimony were given against some leading men—he did not know but that some criminal might accuse him as his leader, in order to escape punishment. He knew also that the speeches made at Mingo Creek and Parkinson's Ferry were of so equivocal a character that if one part were reported without the other, treasonable expressions might be found. He was aware, too, that his conversation and conduct at Braddock's fields were intended to make the insurgents believe, and did make them believe, that he was on their side. For these and other reasons he apprehended danger. And he probably would have had serious difficulty, if James Ross, one of the Commissioners of the Government, who knew his motives and understood the eccentricity of his character, had not been with him at Braddock's fields and Parkinson's Ferry.

He was bound over to attend the Court east of the mountains, as a witness. There were several cases of persons taken to Philadelphia for trial who were entirely blameless. I mention only one. Col. John Hamilton was Sheriff of Washington county, resided in Mingo Creek settlement, commanded a regiment of militia in that neighborhood; many of his men were concerned in the riots; yet he stood aloof and prevented all the mischief he could—took no notice of the order to march his regiment to Braddock's fields—rode to Washington and prevailed on Marshall to countermand the order; but it was too late. And finding that his men would go, he went with them with a view to prevent mischief; and he did render important service.

During the riots he had repeatedly declared himself ready, as Sheriff, to arrest and bring into court any man against whom a writ might be issued. And such was the energy of his character that no one who knew him, doubted his word. But Bradford, the Prosecuting Attorney of the county, was the leader of the insurgents. Addison, the Presiding Judge, was absent east of the mountains, and the inferior magistrates had not the courage to issue a writ. Yet this man was marked as a victim, taken to Philadelphia without any previous examination of his case, paraded through the streets with an ignominious badge on his hat, and thrown into prison. After remaining in prison ten weeks, his case was brought before the Supreme Court on a writ of *habeas corpus*; and he was admitted to bail. At the Circuit Court, the June following, a bill of misprison of treason was sent to the Grand Jury; but every witness examined testified strongly in his favor, and he was dismissed.

In conducting the examinations at Pittsburg and at other places in Western Pennsylvania, the conduct of Judge Peters were marked with justice and humanity. He seemed unwilling to commit any for trial, against whom there was not probable evidence of guilt. From a portion of the army there were loud complaints, because so many were released. They complained that after all their fatigue and hardships so few of the insurgents would be hung.

It is possible that to prevent the army from taking summary justice, the Judge sent to Philadelphia more than he otherwise would have sent. After being kept in jail four or five months, the prisoners were tried before Judge Paterson, assisted by Judge Peters; and of the large number taken to Philadelphia, only two were condemned to be hung. The truth is, that the most criminal had signed the conditions of amnesty or had fled from the country and escaped the penalty of the law.

One of those condemned was an ignorant German, a man of violent passions, who had assisted in burning the Collector's house in Westmoreland county, convicted chiefly on the testimony of a man who was the leader in that wicked transaction. The other was John Mitchell, one of the men who had robbed the U. S. mail at the instigation of his cousin, D. Bradford.

Mitchell had absconded until the judiciary had left the country. He then returned and delivered himself up to Gen. Morgan, who remained through the winter with about fifteen hundred men. Struck with the ignorance and stupidity of the man, Gen. Morgan affected

not to believe that he was concerned in robbing the mail. But he insisted that he was the man ; and the General gave him a pass to go to Philadelphia and to deliver himself to the Marshal, hoping that he would have sense enough to make his escape ; but he had not. He was arrested and tried, and condemned to be hung. These two men, who, in the language of Mr. Brackenridge, were not worth hanging, were reprieved and afterwards pardoned by the President.

Many important salutary lessons might be deduced from the imperfect narrative given ; but having already trespassed too long on the patience of the Society, I will merely suggest a few topics on which each one can reflect at his leisure.

First. In a country so extensive as the United States, with such a diversity of climate and soil, leading the citizens to such a variety of pursuits and occupations, it appears to me impossible to raise a revenue to sustain the Government by direct or internal taxation. The Constitution of the United States declares that "all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States ;" that is, the same articles shall be taxed alike throughout our extensive territory. The consequence will be, that taxes not felt at all in some places, will press heavily on others, as did the excise on whiskey in Western Pennsylvania, and will tempt the people to rebel. We have great reason to be thankful that the duties on importations from foreign countries are sufficient to pay the expenses of our Government. In this case, every individual is at liberty to purchase or not to purchase foreign goods, and of course to pay or not to pay, at his pleasure, the expenses of our General Government.

Second. We see the disastrous consequences of mob law : the innocent are as likely to suffer as the guilty.

Third. When a number of persons combine together to do wrong, reason is dethroned and argument is of no avail. You may convince each individual of his error ; but he will not and he dare not break ranks. He is afraid of his neighbor ; and his neighbor may be as desirous as he is to back out, but he dare not ; and this feeling may pervade the whole community, and no one will dare to express his real sentiments. This truth was illustrated by the Committee of Safety refusing to vote openly at the meeting at Brownsville.

Fourth. In a commotion such as that in Western Pennsylvania, froth and bubbles will rise to the surface of the agitated waters, and swell and glitter in the sunbeams for a short time, and then burst and vanish

from the sight. Witness D. Bradford and other leaders of the Western Insurrection.

Fifth. Those who are the most turbulent and outrageous when surrounded by a multitude agreeing with them in sentiment and feeling, are usually the most dastardly and sneaking when danger comes. Witness those who fled from the country when the army was crossing the mountains.

Sixth. On this occasion Washington manifested his usual wisdom in calling out an army so large as to render opposition hopeless, and by this means avoiding the effusion of human blood.

Lastly. This occurrence was salutary as an example, showing that the Federal Government was not a rope of sand, which might be broken at the will of any section of the country whenever any State or part of a State thought a particular law unjust or oppressive.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Vol. VI.

1853.

No. IV.

TRENTON, *January 20th*, 1853.

THIS being the day for the annual meeting of the Society, the members convened in Temperance Hall, in this city, at 12 o'clock at noon. As the President and Vice Presidents were absent, the Rev. NICHOLAS MURRAY, D. D., Chairman of the Executive Committee, was called upon to preside. Mr. HAYES, the Recording Secretary, not being present, Mr. JOHN RODGERS was appointed Secretary *pro tem.*, and read the minutes of the last meeting.

Mr. WHITEHEAD, the Corresponding Secretary, laid upon the table the correspondence of the Society since September, drawing attention particularly to letters from Rev. RICHARD WEBSTER, of Mauch Chunk, Pa.; Rev. M. W. JACOBUS, of Alleghany; and ROYAL R. HINMAN, Esq., of Hartford, Conn., acknowledging their election as members; from BENJAMIN FRENCH, Esq., of New York, asking for donations for the New Orleans Library; from MANNING T. FORCE, Esq., Secretary of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, suggesting an application to Congress for books; from CHAS. C. RAFFN, Secretary of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen, referring to the current errors respecting the visits of the Northmen to the coasts of America, and transmitting a correct statement, based upon Danish authorities; from the Smithsonian Institution, American Philosophical Society, Pennsylvania Historical Society, Connecticut Historical Society, and different gentlemen, in relation to the operations of the Society. The communication from the Society

of Northern Antiquaries was referred to the Committee on Publications.

The Librarian, Mr. S. H. CONGAR, submitted a report of the donations received since the last meeting, amounting to 70 bound volumes, 71 pamphlets, and 5 volumes of newspapers; some of the works being very valuable.

Only eleven of the newspapers of the State had been received by the Society. It was desirable that all should be preserved, and their transmission by the publishers was requested.

Mr. Ross, the Treasurer, reported a balance in the Treasury of \$341 79.

The Chairman presented the Annual Report of the Executive Committee, exhibiting the progress of the Society during the year, as follows :

The Executive Committee beg leave to present the following as their Annual Report.

The quarterly publication of the Society has been continued through the year, conveying to the members and to the country the record of our proceedings and transactions. It is to be regretted that it is not more extensively patronized by the good people of our State, containing as it does papers and journals of great interest and value.

Another volume has been added to the publications of the Society, containing the "Papers of Governor Lewis Morris," making the fourth volume of "Collections" already published by our Society. We doubt whether any of our sister institutions have, in the same time, made such valuable contributions to the historical literature of our country.

The Library is rapidly on the increase. It *now* contains 1,655 bound volumes, and 1,849 pamphlets, making an increase of 240 volumes (164 of which were donations,) and of 315 pamphlets within the year. The donation of Dr. WILLIAM TURK, of Newark, one of the senior Surgeons of our Navy, consisting of 58 volumes, 36 pamphlets, 2 valuable maps, some volumes of newspapers, and an ancient Dutch Bible more than one hundred years old, is worthy of special notice.

The Treasurer, with our Secretaries, have been engaged in the work of revising the list of members. There remain on the list, af-

ter a thorough expurgation, 312 resident members, of whom 38 are life members ;—enough to make a most interesting and useful Society, if all only possess the historical spirit. For the condition of the Finances, the Committee refer to the Report of the Treasurer.

Under the direction of your Committee, the Corresponding Secretary visited the Massachusetts Historical Society Library, and made an examination of the Gov. Belcher papers which it contains. The following is his report :

NEWARK, Nov. 20th, 1852.

DEAR SIR—In accordance with the request of the Executive Committee, I have visited Boston, and made the examination of the papers of Governor Belcher in the Library of the Historical Society of Massachusetts, access to which, with permission to copy such of them as we might desire, was so freely accorded by a vote of that venerable institution.

It gives me pleasure, in the farther prosecution of the duty assigned to me, to report to you that I found the papers fully as valuable and interesting as they were represented to be by our corresponding member, Mr. Jencks ; and for the period of the Governor's official life, prior to his entering upon the government of New Jersey, no collection of papers could more thoroughly exhibit the man, or convey a better idea of the state of public affairs ; for it would seem to have been the custom of Governor Belcher to have every letter he wrote, however trifling its purport, systematically copied ; and we meet, consequently, with details and illustrations that are not ordinarily preserved, but which, from the light which they throw upon the character and motives of the writer and the events of the day, possess peculiar interest.

It is deeply to be regretted that the deficiencies in the papers—arising from some of the volumes being missing, and the vandalism which has deprived two of those in the collection of a large portion of their leaves—exist mainly in those referring to New Jersey ; but enough remains to warrant, in my opinion, the prosecution of the ultimate design of the Society in authorizing the examination I have made ; these papers not only being essential, in many respects, to a right understanding of that period of New Jersey history, but also, what is of nearly equal importance, a proper appreciation of the motives and conduct of the Governor.

I do not hesitate, therefore, to recommend to the Committee to

proceed to obtain copies of such of the papers as may be of importance, in accordance with the direction of the Society; unless they should prefer, on account of the expense, to await the further action of the Society.

There are three volumes containing the New Jersey letters, commencing with the Governor's arrival in the Province in Sept. 1747, and extending to October, 1748; and then from October, 1750, to August, 1752; and from July to December, 1755; leaving, as you will observe, serious blanks which, from the causes mentioned, can not be supplied. Of the three volumes I made as particular an examination as time would permit—the greater part of two days being devoted to the papers—marking such letters or such passages as I deemed important—and selecting some letters in the previous volumes that I thought particularly valuable, as illustrative of character and opinions; and the result was an estimate that the quantity of matter to be copied would be equal to about 1200 folios, which at 5 cents per folio—for which I am informed the work can be done by a competent person—would come to \$60. I also marked many letters of which I thought it desirable some note should be made in the manner of Mr. Stevens' Analytical Index; which, with the cost of paper, &c., would probably add to the expense \$40 more, making the whole amount, \$100. It would not vary much from that sum.

The Society possesses also an admirable portrait of Governor Belcher.

I confess that my opinion of the Governor has been considerably changed by the perusal of his papers. I did not give him credit for half the intelligence, forecast, prudence and determination he possessed—his piety and integrity stand higher in my estimation—and, although he evidently had foibles and faults that were prominent, was decidedly a much superior man to the one I had prefigured to myself from the information I had previously obtained.

I cannot conclude this report without expressing my obligations to the Rev. Mr. FELT, the Librarian, and the Hon. JAMES SAVAGE, President of the Massachusetts Society, for the interest they manifested in the object of my visit, and the facilities afforded me in carrying out my wishes.

Very truly, dear sir,

Yours,

W. A. WHITEHEAD, Cor. Sec.

REV. N. MURRAY, D. D., Chairman, &c.

The Committee would respectfully recommend the Society to direct the copies of the papers to be secured as suggested by the Secretary.

The Library was not long since entered by a burglar, and part of the coins presented by Mr. Scharff were stolen. Those stolen were valued at about ten dollars; their historical value was much higher. The Committee would recommend the Society to order them to be replaced by purchase if possible. We have, in the robbery of these coins, another argument in favor of a building which will be at once proof against fire and robbers.

All which is respectfully submitted.

On motion of Bishop DOANE, it was

Resolved, That the Corresponding Secretary be authorized to secure copies of such of the papers of Governor Belcher, referring to New Jersey, as he may think important, and that a sum, not exceeding one hundred and fifty dollars, be appropriated for that purpose.

Mr. WHITEHEAD, from the Committee on Purchases, reported the purchase of thirty two volumes of valuable historical works since the last meeting, among them being several volumes from the library of the late Matthew S. Clair Clarke, Esq., of Washington, which rendered some of the Society's series of Congressional documents complete.

Mr. GIFFORD, from the Committee on Biographies, made a verbal report of the progress made by the Committee, and stated that he had himself made some biographical researches in connection with monumental inscriptions in Sussex county, which he would take an opportunity to lay before the Society.

Mr. CONGAR, in the absence of the Chairman, (Dr. Mulford,) presented the report of the Committee appointed at the last meeting to examine some ancient ruins at the mouth of Timber Creek, and to make such other explorations as they thought necessary to identify the site of Fort Nassau, erected in 1623, as follows:

To the New Jersey Historical Society :

The Committee appointed by your body in September last, to co-operate with a similar Committee of the Pennsylvania Historical Society in making explorations and researches in reference to the site of Fort Nassau, would respectfully report, That attention has been given

to the object of their appointment, in so far as time and opportunity have been allowed. At an early period an appointment was made for joining the representatives of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and having met them according to agreement, the joint body proceeded to the place, and entered upon an examination. Beside the parties more immediately concerned, there were in attendance several individuals who felt an interest in the matter in hand, or were in possession of some information in regard to it. Communications had also been opened with others, in advance.

From various causes, the subject of inquiry has come to be involved in a great deal of obscurity. More than two centuries and a quarter have elapsed since Fort Nassau was erected, and considering the circumstances of the time and the place, it may well be supposed that the structure was, at first, but a very imperfect one. At subsequent periods it was repaired, and perhaps extended and strengthened; yet there is no reason to believe that such a degree of care was ever bestowed upon it as would be necessary in order to give it an enduring character.* Its remains, therefore, if now in any part actually existing, can have but little distinctness, and of consequence must be difficult of recognition. The statements of authorities, too, upon the subject, have tended rather to increase than to lessen the obscurity. Upon one point only is there a general concurrence amongst them. With some inconsiderable exceptions, their statements and descriptions appear to meet, in placing the Fort upon or somewhere near a stream which has been designated by various names, but which now is commonly called Timber Creek. But in regard to the precise locality there is much disagreement. Some place the work upon one side of the stream, and some upon the other, whilst others have indicated spots which it is difficult to recognise at the place, as it now appears.† It is to be noticed, that there are two streams which bear the name of Timber Creek, and which are designated respectively as "Big" and "Little" Timber Creek. Whether the relation between these has always been the same in every respect as that now existing,

* It appears, too, that about 1650 the Fort was either wholly or partly demolished by the Dutch themselves, they finding it "to be too high up, and too much out of the way."

† Upon most, perhaps all, of the earlier maps, the Fort is represented as being below Timber Creek; some of the later, have it above. In a late work (Hazard's Annals) it is stated that maps have been examined which place the Fort between the two branches of Timber Creek; such maps have not been noticed by other authorities, but this writer is usually careful and accurate.

is somewhat uncertain. At present, however, they are connected together by having an outlet common to both. Though quite divergent in their upward course, they are found to come together nearly a quarter of a mile before they arrive at the Delaware, and afterwards there is only a single channel. The points upon either side of this channel, near to the Delaware, and the point of junction between the two streams, (the latter point, as just stated, being at some distance from the Delaware,) are the spots which naturally attract attention, and to which the researches made on the present occasion were confined. On the lower side, the bank is much less elevated than on the opposite one, and the place has no features that would recommend it to notice or give it an important advantage. But information had been given, that explorations had been made there, and that something having the appearance of an embankment had been discovered. Upon examination, a ledge of land was found, having a somewhat semi-circular form, and projecting at one point into a meadow or marsh, and having, at that point, an appearance of some elevation; but, at the opposite point, it was not raised above the level of the surrounding land, and was, apparently, continuous with it. Excavations upon this ridge disclosed nothing, and the entire examination led rather to a negative conclusion as to there having been any work of an artificial character at that place. Nothing else was seen, on this border, to prompt to further research. The central point—that at the confluence of the two streams—was next visited. This was the spot to which the notice of the members of the Pennsylvania Historical Society had been especially turned, and where the remains were found which were described in the communication from the Secretary of that Society to your body. The ruins in question are lying upon the border of Little Timber Creek, a very short distance above the spot where this stream joins with the larger one. They consist of a number of logs disposed along the line of the stream, with some others extending from them in an outward and backward direction, and thus forming, together, a partial enclosure. Within this space, there extends, for a part of the distance, a line of wall. The whole is described with precision, and with sufficient minuteness, in the communication to your body already referred to. What are these remains? The statements and opinions of persons who have long been acquainted with the place, are entirely at variance. Some were quite confident that these vestiges are not a part of any construction of modern date, or at least, that there is no tradition or history connecting them

with the present people of the country. But one individual, who professed to have spent his earlier years in boating upon these streams, appeared to be confident that the ruins were the remains of flood-gates which had formerly been erected to command the mouth of the smaller stream.* Another individual, who had been in the habit of frequenting the place from his childhood, gave an assurance that he had clear recollections of there being a wharf at this point; that when he first knew it, the structure was so distinct as to make its character entirely obvious; but that it had gradually gone to decay, one portion after another becoming loose and displaced. He stated also, in confirmation, that a road leading from the interior, had formerly terminated near this point, and that the place was then called a "landing." This explanation affords nothing which can account for the existence of a wall within the limits of the structure, unless it be supposed that there may have been a storage house upon the wharf, and that the wall was a part of the foundation; but nothing of this kind is remembered by any one.

Your Committee have not at present the means of determining as to the degree of credit to be attached to the several statements above mentioned; but, at any rate, they would not feel warranted in expressing a belief that the ruins in question are a part, and mark the site of Fort Nassau. No insignia sufficiently clear to justify such an opinion have yet been observed. Time and future researches may possibly bring such to light.

In regard to this locality generally, it need only be said, that it possesses many and important advantages; but yet these advantages can hardly be considered as belonging exclusively to it. The place would command the intercourse by the streams above, but so also, it may be supposed, would points at the common outlet.

Time was not allowed for a full exploration of the remaining place—that upon the upper side of Timber Creek—though it was hastily examined by some of the party. But this place had frequently been visited on other occasions, it being the one which, from its general appearance, has excited the attention of inquirers. There is here found an elevated bank, having a fine bold front upon the Delaware, and commanding a more extensive view, both of the water and

* It should be stated, that this opinion was not given upon the spot, but in different previous conferences with the person. The possibility that this statement was not clearly understood, as to the precise locality of the structure he referred to, is to be admitted and considered.

of the land, than can be had from any other point in the vicinity. Yet nothing has ever been discovered at this place that could give any assurance upon the subject now under notice; the features of the spot alone would appear to have been the ground upon which the conclusions in its favor have been made.

It must therefore be acknowledged, that the present investigation furnishes nothing that can serve as a basis for positive conclusions; and that the point so long in question remains yet undetermined. Yet eventual success need not be despaired of. Inquiries will continue to be pushed in different directions, and it may be that in some quarter, and perhaps in some one that may seem least promising, the true clue will yet be discovered.

The Committee, in conclusion, would acknowledge the courtesy and kindness which have characterized the manner of the representatives from the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and the gratification which the meeting with them has afforded.

Which is respectfully submitted.

ISAAC S. MULFORD,	} <i>Committee.</i>
SAMUEL H. CONGAR,	
ISAAC MICKLE,	

EDWARD ARMSTRONG, Esq., of the Pennsylvania Society, was then introduced by the Corresponding Secretary, and read an elaborate and valuable paper upon the history of Fort Nassau, which he had been requested by the Pennsylvania Society to present, in consequence of the joint interest the two States have in everything connected with the early settlement of the Delaware—having some months since submitted it to that Society.*

The Chairman, in behalf of the Society, thanked Mr. Armstrong for the gratification he had afforded them.

Mr. WHITEHEAD remarked that he had not only been much interested in the history of the Fort as detailed in the paper, but also pleased to find that Mr. Armstrong's researches had led to the discovery of a map which presents the localities named by Beauchamp Plantagenet in his account of New Albion. It was not long since that a paper was read before the Society with the view of settling one of these points, but the whole history of Sir Edmund Ployden's settlement was so much mingled with what was fabulous that the map referred to must possess peculiar interest.

* Mr. Armstrong's paper will be found inserted farther on.

Mr. ARMSTRONG said he knew but one copy of the map, and he would endeavor to secure a fac simile for the Society.

STACY G. POTTS, Esq., one of the Vice-Presidents, having arrived, assumed the Chair.

The Nominating Committee reported favorably in regard to several gentlemen whose names had been submitted to them, and they were all unanimously elected members. Other nominations were received.

The Chair appointed the Hon. Wm. P. Robeson, Rev. Dr. Carnahan and John Rutherford, Esq., a Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, and appointed the following **STANDING COMMITTEES**.

Committee on Publications—Messrs. W. A. Duer, James G. King, Rev. Dr. Murray, R. S. Field, W. A. Whitehead, and Dr. Pennington.

Committee on Purchases—Messrs. W. A. Whitehead, R. S. Field, Rev. Dr. Davidson, Dr. Isaac S. Mulford, and S. Alofsen.

Committee on Statistics—Messrs. J. P. Bradley, Dr. Congar, Rev. Samuel Starr, John Rodgers, and Dr. Lewis Condict.

Committee on Nominations—Messrs. D. A. Hayes, Dr. Murray, and Prof. Maclean.

The Society then adjourned for dinner.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

At 3½ the Society again assembled, DR. MURRAY in the Chair.

Hon. WM. P. ROBESON, from the Committee to nominate officers, reported the following :

For President—JOSEPH C. HORNBLOWER, LL. D.

For Vice Presidents—Hon. James Parker, Stacy G. Potts, Esq., Hon. James G. King.

For Corresponding Secretary—William A. Whitehead.

For Recording Secretary—David A. Hayes.

For Librarian—Samuel H. Congar.

For Treasurer—James Ross.

For Executive Committee—Rev. Nicholas Murray, D. D., Hon. Wm. L. Dayton, Archer Gifford, Esq., Hon. Daniel Haines, Hon. Henry W. Green, Richard S. Field, Esq., Rt. Rev. George W. Doane, D. D. LL. D., Hon. Elias B. D. Ogden, Rev. Ravaud K. Rodgers, who were all duly elected for the ensuing year.

As considerable disappointment was expressed that the Committee

on the fire-proof building had not made any progress in effecting the object of their appointment, it was, on motion of Mr. WHITEHEAD,

Resolved, That the Special Committee on the fire-proof building be requested to proceed immediately to raise the necessary funds, by subscription, and the Executive Committee be earnestly desired to use their influence in furthering the undertaking.

On motion of Mr. PETER S. DURYEE,

Resolved, That the Librarian be authorized to procure by purchase, or otherwise, if it can be done on such terms as he may deem reasonable, the coins that may be necessary to supply the deficiencies in the set presented by Mr. Adrian Scharff, arising from the recent theft committed in the library.

The Corresponding Secretary presented in behalf of Mr. DENNING DUER, a copy of Scott's "Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey in America," handsomely bound in calf, and stated that this was only the *fifth copy* known to exist; two copies being in European Libraries, and three in America—the others being in the libraries of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, and of Hon. John A. King at Jamaica.

This is the work republished in the appendix to the first volume of the Society's "collections," the copy transcribed for the purpose having been that of the Antiquarian Society—and it is somewhat remarkable that a variation appears in the matter of one of its pages, as well as on the title page of that copy, from the corresponding portions in Mr. King's and in the one presented by Mr. Duer. The latter copies bore the imprint "EDINBURGH: Printed by *John Reid*, Anno DOM., 1685"; the other, "EDINBURGH: Printed by *John Reid* and Sold by *Alexander Ogston*, Stationer in the *Parliament Closs*. Anno DOM., 1685."

The variation in the text is on page 37, where in the two copies referred to is found this passage:

"I find *removal* likewise allowable in case of *persecution*, so did the Apostles, Acts xiii. 46, and for the *liberty of the ordinances*, 2d Chron. xi. 13. When *Jeroboam made a defection from Judah, and set up golden calves to worship*, all who were well affected, both Priests and people, sold their *possessions*, and came to *Jerusalem* for the *ordinances' sake*: this was of seasonable use to the *Protestants of England* in the days of *Queen Marie*, who removed to *France* and *Ger-*

many, in the beginning of her Reign, upon a *Proclamation of alteration of Religion* before any persecution began."

This passage in the other copy is modified as follows :

"When people find themselves straitened in point of their opinion, no reasonable man will question their call to go where by Law they are allowed their Freedom in this point which they themselves would desire; this is one great encouragement to any so circumstanced, to remove to any of the new Plantations; the interest of which obligeth to lay this as a fundamental, *that no man shall be in any way imposed upon in matters of principle; but have their own freedom without the least hazard.*"

Mr. WHITEHEAD accounted for this change by presuming that the passage altered was thought, as originally written, to reflect too harshly upon the government, whose oppressive acts were leading to forced or voluntary expatriation—the voyage of Scott being undertaken with the consent and approval of the authorities.

Mr. W. also presented in behalf of Mr. B. THOMPSON, of Somerville, a "MS. Copy of the Correspondence between Governor Denny and the Assembly of Philadelphia, during the year 1753, relative to the taxation of the Proprietary Estates," and from Rev. RICHARD WEBSTER, of Mauch Chunk, "MSS. Notices of the College of New Jersey from the Bellamy Manuscripts."

Mr. JOHN RODGERS presented a perfect copy of the "Proceedings of General Lee's Court Martial," in 1778.

Rev. R. K. RODGERS, in behalf of J. H. FRAZEE, Esq., of Somerville, presented a copy of the "Additional Charter of the College, Academy and Charity School of Philadelphia. Printed by B. Franklin & D. Hall, 1755." From Mr. A. C. MOLLESON, of Bound Brook, an old Dutch Almanac of 1754; and from ——— "The Case of the Scotch Presbyterians of the City of New York," 1773.

Hon. WM. P. ROBESON, on presenting to the Society an original letter of General Anthony Wayne, bearing date June 6, 1781, addressed to Judge John Bryan, made some statements of interest relative to the latter, who died in 1803, while engaged with Rev. Mr. Clark, of New Brnnswick, in collecting funds for Princeton College.

Rev. Dr. MURRAY presented for the examination of the Society, the Manuscript Journal of Mr. Clark, while attached to the Army, in 1777 and 1778, previous to his entering the ministry, and read several interesting extracts referring to the operations in New Jersey.

Rev. Dr. CARNAHAN stated that to account for the civil and military services rendered by Mr. Clark before entering the ministry, it might be stated that he did not graduate at College until thirty years of age. He was remarkably accurate and methodical, which the accounts appended to his journal went to show, and it was owing to these well known characteristics that he was selected to collect funds for the College in connection with Judge Bryan, and also for the Presbyterian Theological Seminary. He died Pastor of a Church at New Brunswick. As the book was only loaned to the Society, on motion of Mr. WHITEHEAD, it was

Resolved, That the journal of Mr. Clark be referred to the Committee on Publications, with the view to the insertion in the Society's periodical of such portions as may be illustrative of our history.

On motion of Mr. CONGAR, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society are due, and are hereby tendered, to Dr. WILLIAM TURK, of the U. S. Navy, for his valuable donation of historical and other works to the library.

A Biographical Memoir of WILLIAM BURNET, Governor of New York and New Jersey, from 1720 to 1728, and subsequently of Massachusetts, was then read by Mr. WILLIAM A. WHITEHEAD.

The Rev. WILLIAM DOD read a paper on "the Battle of Princeton," giving a full, accurate and interesting account of that important event.

The Rev. R. K. RODGERS, after some appropriate remarks, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the Rev. Mr. DOD, for the gratification afforded the Society by his highly interesting paper, and that he be requested to place a copy at the disposal of the Society.

Mr. JOHN P. JACKSON, referring to some remarks of Rev. Mr. Dod, relative to the want of a well written Life of Gen. Mercer, and to the interest which attached to him from his connection with the battle of Princeton, offered the following resolution, which was adopted ;

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be requested to co-operate with the Rev. Wm. Dod, in the adoption of all practicable means to obtain materials for a full and correct life of General Mercer, and such additional information respecting the battle of Trenton as may be yet extant.

The Society then adjourned to meet at NEWARK on the *third Thursday of May next*.

SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE AND PAPERS

Laid before the Society, January 20th, 1853.

FROM CHARLES RAFN, ESQ., *Secretary of Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries.*

ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES, }
COPENHAGEN, July 29th, 1852. }

SIR—On behalf of the R. S. N. A., I have despatched a parcel to the Historical Society of New Jersey. This parcel I beg to recommend to your kind care, as also our contemplated publication of British and Irish Antiquities, from records contained in old Northern MSS. For the proper furtherance of this undertaking, it is of great importance that some interest should be awakened for the same in the United States of America, for which purpose it is necessary that our programme should enjoy a more extensive circulation.

I have received a letter from London, of Nov. 21st, stating that the Secretaries of the Royal Geographical Society and of the Society of Antiquaries will gladly do whatever lies in their power for the promotion of this object, more especially for the more extended circulation of our programme. We indulge the hope that the Secretaries or Librarians of the Universities and Historical Societies in America will evince the same kindness with respect to this matter.

One of the American Historical Societies has forwarded to the

R. S. N. A. a "History of the United States of America, designed for the use of Schools." Therein is found a small section on the discoveries of the Northmen, which however contains sundry inaccuracies and material errors, owing to the author's having been unacquainted with the work entitled *Antiquitates Americanæ*. This has occasioned the drawing up of a brief sketch, directly based upon the ancient records in the old Northern or old Danish language, which have been preserved in Icelandic MSS. at Copenhagen, and published in the work above mentioned. This sketch is now transmitted to you along with the programme, and may, at pleasure, be regarded as a manuscript for insertion in your journal, or in any other publication where it may find a suitable place, and serve to diffuse the knowledge of this historical fact. Alexander Humboldt and other inquirers, who have had an opportunity of consulting the above mentioned work, have fully acknowledged this, as well as also the position given in the work to the countries discovered, the accurate knowledge whereof seems to deserve to be more widely diffused.

Recommending the matter to your kind notice, I subscribe myself

Your obedient servant,

CHARLES C. RAFFN, Sec'y R. S. N. A.

To the Sec'y of the Hist. Soc. of N. J.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY THE NORTHMEN.

The following short sketch has been written at the request of several persons abroad. It may be of use for insertion in, or in preparing articles for Educational Works, Encyclopedias, the Journals of Historical Societies, and other similar works, through which it may be wished to give still further publicity to historical facts so important. They have indeed already been referred to in some books of this kind, but often with considerable errors.

The present paper is communicated by CHARLES C. RAFFN, and is founded on his work, "*Antiquitates Americanæ sive Scriptores Septentrionales rerum Ante-Columbianarum in America*," published by him in 1837, through the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen.

THE DANE GARDAR, of Swedish origin, was the first Northman who discovered Iceland, in 863. Only a few out-places of this country had been visited previously, about seventy years before, by Irish

mark that the shortest day was nine hours long, which fixes the latitude of 41 deg. 24 min. 10 sec., or just that of the promontories which limit the entrances to Mount Hope Bay, where Leif's booths were built, and in the district around which the old Northmen had their head establishment, which they called Hop.

FROM REV. RICHARD WEBSTER.

MAUCH CHUNK, Pa., December 2, 1852.

DEAR SIR—The publications of the New Jersey Historical Society have for years interested me greatly. Every day furnishes new reasons for regretting the prevailing indifference to the most valuable relics of the past. The original diary of David Brainerd was shown some years ago to a gentleman who accepted one of the little volumes. This he has distributed leaf by leaf to autograph hunters, and has forgotten the name of the person from whom he received it.

Among the materials for the paper mills sent from New York to Hartford some years ago, was a large amount of the office papers, memoranda and other documents of Vice-President Burr. Emptied on the wharf, a person picked up several relating to the great steamboat controversy—the rest are gone.

Deeply valuing the honor conferred on me, I shall rejoice in any opportunity to add to the valuable collections of the Society.

The accompanying notices of New Jersey College, found in the manuscript correspondence of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Ballamy, of Bethlehem, Connecticut, may be of interest.

With great respect,

RICHARD WEBSTER.

W. A. WHITEHEAD, Esq., Cor. Sec. N. J. Hist. Soc.

NOTICES OF THE COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY, IN THE BELLAMY MANUSCRIPTS.

THE REV. JAMES DAVENPORT TO THE REV. JOSEPH BELLAMY.

WEST JERSEY, KINGWOOD, May 29, 1753.

2d P. S. 'Tis expected that Mr. Gilbert Tennent will be sent to England in behalf of the College. The good Lord in mercy go with him, and cause His pleasure to prosper abundantly in his servant's hand.

THE REV. SAMUEL DAVIES TO THE SAME.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER—My heart springs to improve every opportunity of writing to you, and though but few of your correspondents, I hope, make you such poor returns, yet none of them, I dare say, are more zealous to cultivate correspondence with you. When I am at home I have few opportunities, and when abroad I have no time; but I can love you when I cannot tell you so.

I would most willingly communicate my sentiments to you upon the question in your last, (alas, that it was your last, for I received it above a year ago,) but my thoughts for some months have been generally confined to another object. I am entering upon the most surprising and unexpected step of my life, *i. e.* undertaking a voyage to Europe on behalf of the College of New Jersey. What will be the consequence, I know not; but I have at times very gloomy and at times very pleasant prospects about it. I request your prayers, dear Sir, for I never needed them more. And I beg Mrs. Bellamy's, as well as yours, for my tenderer and better half, whom I left in a deluge of tears. * * *

My dear Brother,

Yours in immortal friendship,

SAMUEL DAVIES.

NEW YORK, September 29, 1753.

THE REV. DR. JOHN ERSKINE, OF SCOTLAND, TO THE SAME.

I herewith send you * * * Scott's Magazine for April, in which are truly judicious remarks on Lord Kaims by Mr. Wither- spoon, of Bieth, a valuable young minister, to whom I lent your book, and who was much pleased with it. * *

CULROSS, 2 March, 1754.

THE REV. DR. GEORGE BENSON, OF LONDON, TO THE REV. DR. JONA-
THAN MAYHEW, OF BOSTON, APRIL 17, 1754.

[Copied from Bradford's Life of Mayhew.]

I have taken pains to enlarge their (Tennent and Davies) notions of charity, which appear to me greatly confined. They are diligent and dextrous men, and have had great success.

OBADIAH WELLS, OF NEW YORK, TO MR. BELLAMY.

NEW YORK, March 19, (at night,) 1757.

REVEREND AND VERY DEAR SIR—As it is but seldom that I have an opportunity to write to you, I this night sit down to inform you of some remarkables I have been informed of, which I must say-rejoice my very heart. No doubt you may have heard something of the stirrings amongst the dry bones at Nassau Hall, amongst the scholars under Mr. President Burr. Yesterday I had this particular account from a worthy minister of Jesus Christ, as I have no doubt, who tells me he had it from Mr. Burr's own mouth, that fourteen scholars in the Senior Class are truly esteemed sincere converts, and that every other scholar in the whole College is seriously engaged in seeking an interest in the Lord Jesus Christ; that there is not one person belonging to it but what is either under awakenings or charitably believed to be converted. May the Lord's great name have all the glory, and may His own blessed work spread far and wide. I have a brother in the number of the fourteen, and a son in the same class now under serious concern. * * My brother is eighteen years old, and my

son will be a few months above fifteen if he lives till commencement day.

N. B. The son, Henry Wells, studied medicine with Dr. Hull, of Litchfield county, Connecticut.

NATHANIEL HAZARD, OF NEW YORK, TO THE SAME.

NEW YORK, January 7, 1758.

* * * I hear you are called to a Council to meet at Stockbridge, about the expediency of dismissing Mr. Edwards, to undertake the Presidency of Jersey College. Please inform me how the affair of his remove to it stands, when he may be expected, and what are the impediments in the way of his immediate removal. * * *

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

MARCH 20, 1758.

* * * I suppose you have heard that Mr. Edwards is inoculated and has the small-pox. He was past the worst stage of it last week, and had it favorable, as I am informed—and Mrs. Burr also. * * *

THE REV. DR. ERSKINE, OF CULROSS, TO THE SAME.

The death of President Burr is a heavy stroke to New Jersey College. I wish his place may be comfortably supplied. I know few who would be fitter for teaching divinity than his worthy father-in-law, and often wish Providence would place him in a sphere for which he seems so peculiarly calculated.

CULROSS, 24 Jan'y, 1758.

THE REV. DAVID BOSTWICK, OF NEW YORK, TO THE SAME.

NEW YORK, Jan'y 1. 1759.

* * As to the Colledge, I must also be a messenger of bad tydings. Mr. Davies has sent his absolute refusal, grounded on some information he received of a party against him, both among ye trustees and among ministers, w^{ch} occasioned some uneasiness when ye trustees met. In truth ye trustees are divided between Messrs. Davies and Finley; and party spirit, I'm afraid, runs pretty high. I fear ye consequence; the majority have carryed it yt Mr. Davies shall be try'd again, as they suppose his denial was founded on misrepresentations. Mr. Green is President *pro tempore* till next May. If Mr. Davies can't be obtained, I hope all will acquiesce in Mr. Finley. * * *

THE REV. GIDEON HAWLEY, OF MASHPEE, MASS., TO THE SAME.

MASHPEE, 23 Dec'r, 1760.

P. S. In regard to Calvinistic liberty, permit me to say that I fear our young gentlemen candidates do not sufficiently study ye doctrine; yr is no speculative point in our scheme more important than yt. Why would it not be best for you, Sir, to recommend it to Presid't Davies to have Mr. Edwards on ye subject recited by the senior Sophisters? Some who have left ye College don't under (stand) it as we should expect they would have done, had Presid't Edwards lived.

THE REV. DAVID BOSTWICK TO THE SAME.

NEW YORK, March 17, 1761.

* * * Mr. Davies' death has struck us into astonishment, and spread a gloom all over ye country. I believe there never was a College happier in a President, or in a more flourishing state; he far exceeded the expectations of his best friends. As you was not personally acquainted, you can hardly conceive what prodigious, uncommon

gifts ye God of Heaven had bestowed on yt man, to render him useful to the world—but he is gone. O, what might he have been! what might he have done, had he lived? But methinks I hear the admonition—*be still and know yt I am God.*

His sermon on the death of his late Majesty, I purpose to send you with this—the first impression, tho' 1,000, are gone—a second is in ye press; it was ye last work of a publick nature yt he ever did. The people of Philad. have collected £95 pr ann. for 5 years, to support his 3 sons at College; and Philad'a and New York have raised between £400 and £500 for his widow and two daughters—for he left very little estate.

Our eyes are on Mr. Finley, a very accurate scholar and a very great and good man. Blessed be the Lord, that such an one is to be found. The internal state of the College is so good, and ye management of ye tutors so generally approved, yt there will be no *pro tempore* President, and ye time appointed for choice is ye 28th of May next.

NATHANIEL HAZARD TO DR. BELLAMY.

N. YORK, June 5, 1761.

* * Mr. Samuel Finley is chose President of Jersey College, which is very agreeable to me and many others. * *

THE REV. JAMES CALDWELL TO THE SAME.

ELIZ. TOWN, March 16, 1767.

* * You will be informed I expect by Mr. McWhorter, and more particularly by the bearer, Mr. Edwards, what steps we are taking to obtain Mr. Hopkins* as a Professor at College. You are no doubt sensible how much more likely he would be to serve his generation there than in any particular Church. Mr. Edwards† is to

* The Rev. Dr. Hopkins.

† The Rev. Dr. Jona. Edwards, afterwards President of Union College.

try him. I hope you will go with Mr. Edwards, to assist. The chief difficulty we expect is to gain Mr. Rodgers, who is for Mr. John Blair. But besides yt we won't consent to that, they can't support him. We would not propose Mr. Hopkins's less than 200 proc. As soon as Mr. Edwards returns, if we have any encouragement from Mr. Hopkins, we shall push the matter with spirit. We want the fountain clear, that the streams may be so too.

THE REV. DR. WM. GORDON, OF LONDON, (*an Independent Minister, formerly settled at Ipswich, Eng.,*) TO THE SAME.

STEPNEY CAUSEY, Oct. 14, 1767.

* * I lamented the loss sustained by New Jersey College in the death of Dr. Finley ; heard that Dr. Witherspoon has declined, thro' his lady's unwillingness to comply, the invitation given him by the trustees, but from some circumstances hope he has been persuaded to think differently, and that he m still go, unless some letters sent in great haste should not arrive at the New Jerseys time enough.

THE REV. JEDEDIAH CHAPMAN TO THE SAME.

NEW-ARK MOUNTAINS, Aug't ye 25, 1770.

* * * It is a time of carelessness among us about the great things of religion ; but blessed be God, there is I trust a genuine awakening at our College. Three weeks ago I had a pressing invitation from the students to make them a visit, which I complied with the week before last. I spent near a week there with great pleasure and satisfaction. My time was wholly taken up in College, chiefly in private conversation. I preached three sermons—met several times in praying societies. There is a number I trust that have attained the saving knowledge of the truth, and *the truth* prevails greatly, but not without opposition. There are a number of ingenious fellows that are determined to study divinity under your inspection next winter. Great is the power of truth, and it does and will prevail. * *

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

NEWARK MOUNTAINS, August ye 14, 1772.

I have just an opportunity to write a line by Mr. Perriam, who was formerly a tutor at Prince Town Colledge; he is a very ingenious young gentleman—I trust a truly humble and pious Christian; one whom I greatly love and esteem; a steady, zealous friend to truth. He comes with the design to spend some time in the study of divinity with you, and I trust upon acquaintance with him you will be pleased and think it of great importance to encourage and forward him.

[Mr. Periam was licensed by New York Presbytery in 1774, and they withdrew the license in 1775. Dr. Bellamy wrote to his son Jonathan, Feb. 6, 1773: “Mr. Periam has become a very serious man since you saw him.”]

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

NEWARK MOUNTAINS, April 28, 1772.

There has been a considerable revival of religion at Elizabethtown. Our College also has been visited again in a remarkable manner by the spirit of God—which I understand has been general—in which, I am informed, God has been pleased to improve Mr. Bradford as an instrument of great good to the boys. I have had a very pressing invitation to visit them, which I hope to have it in my power soon to comply with. Mr. Edwards’ sentiments make surprising progress there. There are subscriptions set on foot for having your “True Religion Delineated” reprinted, which will fill up surprisingly fast.

MR. EBENEZER BRADFORD (*afterwards Minister of South Hanover, N. J. ; Danbury, Conn. : and Rowley, Mass.*) TO THE SAME.

PRINCETON, April 18th, 1772.

About the middle of last February, God was pleased to visit a number of the students belonging to this Institution with religious impressions, some of whom have since met with a real change, as we chari-

tably hope. This roused the attention of the greatest part of the students. The Dr. being what we call a dull preacher, application was made to Mr. Spencer of Trenton, who preached a number of times with a great deal of warmth and zeal, but not with so much judgment, accuracy and clearness as could have been wished. Both the Dr. and he are great enemies to what they call Eastward, or New Divinity, which was so much exploded by all in college, that when I came here, which was last fall, I was advised by a particular friend, not to let my sentiments be known by any means, alleging that it would be of great disservice to me. I found two or three however, who dared think for themselves, and we agreed to promote what we judged to be truth in as private and hidden a manner as possible. However, as the awakening increased, there was great inquiry for suitable books for persons under religious impressions to read. We had among us a number of Mr. H.'s* pieces against Mills and his two sermons, and Smalley with two pieces of yours, viz : your Glory of the Gospel, and your True Religion delineated; some of which I persuaded some particular persons who were under deep impressions, to read, making them promise that they would not let any person see them, and if they should, not tell from whence they got them. In this manner, the chief of your books were read over several times by a great number of the scholars; at last we had societies every evening, in which we read something. We ventured to read some of your books with the title pages cut out, which were much admired by those who had professed themselves enemies to the New Divinity. After that we set some of those who had met with a change and had got great light by your two pieces, to read your "True Religion Delineated" in public, which gave great satisfaction among the most serious and sensible students. Last evening we set a subscription for reprinting it afoot, and to-day we have upwards of two hundred books subscribed for, though it is vacancy.

I am desired to inform you that Mr. Deven is a Tutor of New Jersey College. I would add that he is a gentleman who has lately dipped into these things, as he expresses it. He has got his insight by reading the above mentioned authors, and promises fair to be of eminent service to the Church of Christ.

The Dr. has lately been conversed with upon these things since

* Probably the Rev. Levi Hart, of Preston, Conn.

they have made such progress in the College, and declares that he is neither for nor against them; however, he both preaches and converses in contradistinction to them. The work is going on in a most glorious manner; there are many souls under deep impression and many who were professors have thrown up their hope by reading the above said authors. * * * * *

LETTER FROM GENERAL WAYNE TO JOHN BRYAN, ESQ.

Received from Hon. Wm. P. Robeson.

In pursuance of the powers & Authority to me given by an Act of Congress passed the 18th ultimo, I do hereby authorize & Impower you to enter the House, Mill, Store or Enclosure of all and every person & persons within your District, and to Impress Flower, pork or Salt meat together with horses and Carriages to transport it to this Camp; taking an Acct. of the Quality and Quantity of all such Articles so taken, together with the name or names of the person or persons unto whom it did belong, that the State may be credited for such a proportion of specific tax Demanded by Congress.

In which this shall be your Warrant.

Given at Camp, Elk Creek Church, 6th June, 1781.

Per ANTHONY WAYNE, B. G.

JOHN BRYAN, ESQ.

[Judge John Bryan, to whom the original order of Brigadier-General Wayne (sometimes called Mad Anthony.) was addressed, was the grandfather of the Hon. W. B. Maxwell, and of Anna M., wife of Judge Robeson, of Belvidere, New Jersey, he died without leaving a son to perpetuate his name.

Judge Bryan was descended from one of the oldest families of Virginia. He was born 14th of Nov., 1746, in Farquhar Co; he had two brothers, William and James—the former moved to Lincoln Co., Kentucky, where he resided in 1803—after the war of the Revolution, Judge Bryan moved to Peapack, Somerset Co., New Jersey, where he resided until his death, although a large landholder both in Virginia and Kentucky. Soon after his removal to New Jersey he

secured the confidence and respect of his neighbors, and was frequently chosen to fill offices of honor and respect, among others that of the Judge of the Pleas, which he held for a number of years.

After the burning of Princeton College, at the solicitation of the Trustees of the College, Judge Bryan, and the Rev. Dr. Clark, of New Brunswick, consented to visit the Southern States, to solicit donations for the restoration of the College edifice, and it appears from the annexed letters from Gov. Bloomfield, of N. J., and from George Divers, Esq., of Virginia, that Judge Bryan, while engaged in this work, was taken sick at the house of the latter, at Farmington, Albemarle Co., Virginia, on Wednesday, the 13th of Dec., 1803, and died on the third day following. On hearing of his colleague's death, Dr. Clark, who was soliciting donations in a northern part of Virginia, hastened to the house of George Divers, Esq., and in conformity with an arrangement entered into before parting, found several thousand dollars, the property of the College, under the lining of an old silk vest, which had been considered of so little value, as to have been left in the closet when his other clothes were removed.—W. P. R.

LETTER FROM GEORGE DIVERS TO JOSEPH BLOOMFIELD.

FARMINGTON, ALBEMARLE COUNTY VIRGINIA, }
December, 21st, 1803. }

SIR—Judge Bryan one of the Gentlemen deputed by the Trustees of Prince Town College to receive benefactions for the restoration of the College edifice &c., arrived here on his way from Richmond to Staunton & Winchester, on Wednesday the 12th inst. He was seized that evening with a violent Bilious Colic. He had all the medical aid that could be got in the neighborhood, but the disorder was so obstinate that it would not yield in the smallest degree to medicine. He expired on Sunday morning following the 16th inst.

Judge Bryan had with him about Sixty Dollars in money and Bank notes, some papers of consequence to his representatives, all of which with his Horse Watch &c. shall be delivered to any person who comes properly authorized to receive them, after paying the expense of his Physician &c.

I am Sir

Yr. mo. ob Servt

GEORGE DIVERS.

P. S. I address you on this melancholy subject because I cannot from Mr. Bryan's papers discover to whom of his family I could

write, although he retained his senses almost to the last & must have known his final dissolution was approaching fast, yet he said nothing to me about his affairs, but with uncommon patience and resignation submitted to his fate under the most excruciating pain.

G. DIVERS.

Addressed to "JOSEPH BLOOMFIELD, Esq., }
 President of the Board of Trustees, of }
 Prince Town College, Trenton, New }
 Jersey."

LETTER FROM JOSEPH BLOOMFIELD TO GEORGE C. MAXWELL.

TRENTON, Thursday morning }
 Feb. 3d, 1803. }

MY DEAR SIR—It is with painful regret that I have to announce to you, the death of our very worthy friend Judge Bryan! Your friendship for his amiable family, induces me to transmit the enclosed letter and the Aurora, in order that you may immediately communicate or cause to be communicated, in the most discreet & tender manner, to those, whose sensibilities will be most deeply wounded by this melancholy event.

After you shall have consulted with the family, you will intimate to me, what answer I shall return to Geo. Divers Esq., who is possessed of my hand writing to the warrant for soliciting donations for the College of N. Jersey.

I am

Most truly Your Friend

JOSEPH BLOOMFIELD.

GEORGE C. MAXWELL, ESQR.

DONATIONS

ANNOUNCED JANUARY 20TH, 1853.

From Hon. James Parker.—Fifth Annual Report of the New Jersey State Lunatic Asylum.

From Rev. W. B. Gillet.—The Seventh Day Baptist Memorial, a Magazine devoted to Biography, History, and Statistics. Vol. 1. Nos. 1 and 2, 3 and 4.

From Augustus Coddington, Esq.—The original Order Book of Lieut. Col. George C. Barber, of the 3d Jersey Regiment, Deputy Adjutant-General for the Western Army, under General Sullivan, from May 26th, to Sept. 6th, 1779.

Original Order Book of Adjutant Jacob Piatt, of the 1st Jersey Regiment, from Nov. 20th, 1777, to Feb. 15th, 1778.

From Cortlandt Parker, Esq.—An Address, delivered before the Alumni Association of Rutgers College, July 27, 1852. By Rev. Abraham Polhemus.

From Peter Force, Esq.—Grinnell Land. Remarks on the English Maps of Arctic Discoveries in 1850 and 1851.

From William Turk, M. D., Surgeon in the U. S. Navy.—The Christian Intelligencer, from May, 1848, to July, 1852.

Army and Navy Chronicle. 1839, 40. 4 vols.

The New World for 1842. Bound.

The Naval Magazine for 1836 and 7. 2 vols.

Mitchell's General View of the United States.

Botta's History of the War of the Independence of the U. S. A. 2 vols.

The Life of George Washington. By John Marshall. 2d Edition. 2 vols.

The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By Edward Gibbon, Esq. In 8 vols.

The Genuine Works of Flavius Josephus. 2 vols.

The History of the Discovery and Settlement of Long Island. By Benjamin F. Thompson, Esq.

The Naval Gazetteer; or, Seamen's Complete Guide. By John Malham. 2 vols.

A Classical Dictionary. By J. Lempriere, D. D.

Memoir of the Rev. John H. Livingston, D. D., S. T. P. By Rev. Alexander Gunn.

The United States Naval Chronicle. By Chas. W. Goldsborough. Vol. 1.

Memoir of Aaron Burr. By M. L. Davies. Vol. 1.

Scott's Life of Napoleon. Vol 2.

The British Magazine. Complete in 2 vols. 1800.

Travels in Portugal, France and Spain. By Henry F. Link.

Roman Antiquities. By Alexander Adam, LL. D.

St. Petersburg, Constantinople and Napoli Di Romania, in 1833-4. By M. Von Tietz.

The Life of George the Third. By Edward Holt, Esq. Vol. 2.

Descriptive and Statistical Gazetter of the U. S. A. By Daniel Haskell and J. C. Smith.

Rollin's Ancient History. 8 vols.

Brewer's Residence at Constantinople.

Grimshaw's History of South America.

D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation.

Goldsmith's History of Greece.

Whelpley's Compend of History.

Peck's Illinois Gazetteer.

Miller's Letters on the Christian Ministry.

Counsels to Young Men. By John Morrison, D. D.

Popery, an Enemy to Civil Liberty. By W. C. Brownlee, D. D.

A New Picture of Rome and its Environs. By Marien Vasi. London. 1818.

The Picture of New York, and Stranger's Guide to the Commercial Metropolis. 1828.

The Political Writings of Joel Barlow; containing Advice to the Privileged Orders, Letter to the National Convention, &c. 1794.

A Catalogue of Columbia College, New York, from 1753 to 1836 inclusive; with 21 Pamphlets, comprising valuable Discourses, Addresses and Reports on various subjects. Also

Smith's Map of the United States, including Canada and Texas in 1843. And

King's Map of Indiana, from the United States' Surveys. 1838.

The Old and New Testament and Apocrypha. Folio, with Plates and Maps. Dordrecht. 1741.

From the Smithsonian Institution.—The Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. Vols. 3 and 4.

Schoolcraft's History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States. Part 2d.

From the Author.—A Plea for the Critical Study of the Scriptures, against Romanism and Rationalism. By Melancthon W. Jacobus, D. D.

Letters from the English Kings and Queens. Charles II, James II, William and Mary, Anne, George, &c., to the Governors of the Colony of Connecticut, with the Answers thereto, from 1635 to Compiled by Royal R. Hinman, Sec'y of State of Conn.

From the Secretary of the State of New Jersey.—Minutes of Votes and Proceedings of the 76th General Assembly, the Journal of the 8th Senate, and the Acts of the 76th Legislature of the State of New Jersey.

From Royal R. Hinman, Esq.—Catalogue of Yale College, complete to 1847, with several valuable Pamphlets.

Resolves and Private Laws of the State of Connecticut, from the year 1789 to the year 1836.

A Historical Collection, from Official Records, Files, &c., of the part sustained by Connecticut, during the War of the Revolution. By R. R. Hinman.

The Blue Laws of New Haven Colony, usually called Blue Laws of Connecticut, with the Blue Laws of New York, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, &c.

From W. A. Whitehead.—Lectures on Ancient America, and Nineveh and its Ruins. By H. Davis.

From the Author.—A Historical Sketch of the First Presbyterian Church in the City of New Brunswick. By Robert Davidson, D. D.

From the Author.—A Letter to Lord Mahon, being an answer to his Letter to the Editor of Washington's Writings. By Jared Sparks.

From the Hon. J. G. King.—Memoirs of a Huguenot Family. Compiled from an original Autobiography and Family Manuscripts, comprising an original Journal of Travels in Virginia, New York, &c., in 1715 and 1716, and other Historical Documents. By Ann Maury.

From Samuel G. Drake.—The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, for January, 1853.

From the Hon. ———.—Report of the Select Committee of the

House of Representatives, on the Memorial of Dr. Morton, and the pain-subduing properties of Sulphuric Ether. With a lithograph copy of the Original Petition and Signatures.

RECEIVED SINCE SEPTEMBER MEETING—70 volumes—bound—71 pamphlets, and 5 volumes newspapers. At the last annual meeting, the Library comprised 1415 bound volumes, and 1534 pamphlets. During the year there have been added 201 bound volumes, 164 of which were donations, and 315 pamphlets, exclusive of numerous congressional speeches, besides 39 volumes (bound) of newspapers, from the years 1785 to 1850. Total, 1625 bound volumes, 1849 pamphlets.

From the various publishers have been received The Daily Sentinel of Jersey City, the Paterson Intelligencer, The Rahway Advocate and Register, The Morristown Democratic Banner, The New Brunswick Fredonian, The Somerset Messenger, The Somerset Whig, The Hunterdon Democrat, The Princeton Whig, The Burlington Gazette, Eleven only of all the Newspapers of the State, whereas it is desirable that all should be received and preserved.

The books purchased since the last meeting are, Beltram's Pilgrimage in Europe and America; Allen's History of Vermont; Fearon's Journey in America; Jones's original History of Ancient America; Allen's American Biographical and Historical Dictionary; Benedict's History of the Baptists in America, &c.; Johnson's Life and character of Maj. Gen. Greene; A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution, by Jonathan Boucher, A. M., &c.; Memoir of David Brainard; and 21 volumes of the Journals of the Senate and House of Representatives of the U. S., with the Journal of Executive Proceedings of the Senate from 1789 to 1805.

MEMBERS ELECTED

JANUARY 20TH, 1853.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Rev. William Dod, *Princeton*,
Alfred Mills, *Morristown*,
J. Hatfield Frazee, *Somerville*,

Warren Hardenburg, *New Brunswick*,
Rev. James Romeyn, *New Brunswick*,
Rev. John Ludlow, D. D. " "

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Rev. Alonzo Potter, D. D., *Philadelphia*, Hon. James Savage, *Boston*.

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS OF THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

From January 15th, 1852, to January 20th, 1853.

RECEIPTS.			DISBURSEMENTS.	
From Members, for dues, &c.,	\$414 00		For Publication of Vol. IV Society's Collections,	\$468 40
" Caleb O. Halsted, Esq., donations,	50 00		" other expenses attending same,	3 52
" Sales Vol. I Society's Collec'n,	6 00		" Colonial Document Fund,	33 00
" Sales Vol. II "	7 72		" Expenses of Library,	52 11
" Sales Vol. III "	7 50		" Committee on fitting up do.,	69 37
" Sales Vol. IV "	100 50		" Printing, Stationery, Advertising, and other incidentals,	82 74
* Total receipts,	\$585 72		Total disbursements,	\$709 14
Balance on hand as per last Report,	- -	523 78	Commissions on \$585 72	58 57
January 15, 1852,	- -		Balance on hand Jan, 20, 1853,	341 79
				\$1109 50

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES ROSS,
Treas'r N. J. Historical Society.

WE have examined the above statements, and compared the same with the accounts and vouchers of the Treasurer, and find it correct, and the balance remaining in his hands to be three hundred and forty-one dollars and seventy-nine cents. (\$341 79.)

Dated January 19, 1852.

PETER S. DURYEE,
J. R. WEEKS, } *Committee.*

THE
HISTORY AND LOCATION
OF
FORT NASSAU UPON THE DELAWARE.

A PAPER

READ BEFORE THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

January 20th, 1853,

BY EDWARD ARMSTRONG, ESQ.,

Recording Secretary of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

THE HISTORY AND LOCATION
OF
FORT NASSAU ON THE DELAWARE.

THE history of Fort Nassau is interesting, not only from its precise location having long been a subject of discussion, but because its site was the first place of European settlement upon the Delaware. The years 1624* and 1626 have, by one or two early writers, been assigned as the periods of its erection, but the proof is abundant that it was built in 1623,† by Captain Cornelis Jacobsen Mey and Adriæn Jorisz Tienpont, who as Directors of the expedition, and supplied with provisions colonists, and all the appliances for the establishment of a colony, ascended our river in the ship "New Netherlands," and at the distance of fifteen leagues from its mouth commenced the erection of Fort Nassau, "as well for *security* against the *Indians* as for a *trading* post with them."

No description of its size or shape, or of the materials of which it was constructed has been transmitted. It is always called a small fort, sometimes a *redoubt*, and Mr. Hazard says it was built of logs.‡ There can be no question as the most available material, that the outworks were constructed of timber. Other forts were so built. The Swedish fort, Gottenburg, erected in 1643§ by Gov. Printz, on the Island of Tinnicum, was constructed, says Commissary Hudde, "by laying very heavy hemlock logs the one on the other," and "was pretty strong." The first Fort Amsterdam, built in 1626,|| was a "Block House," surrounded with red cedar palisades, and it is not unlikely Fort Nassau may have been originally built in the same manner. Fort "Oplandt," at the Hoerkill, was a brick house, surrounded with red cedar palisades,¶ This, it will be recollected, was also a Dutch fort, and built by De Vries.

Little is known of the history of Fort Nassau during the earlier

* O'Callaghan, I, p. 100, in note.

† Hazard, 13.

§ Hazard, 70.

† Hazard's Annals, p. 12, 13.

|| O'Callaghan, I, p. 104.

¶ 3d vol. Doc. Hist. N. Y., p. 50.

period of its existence. The first mention of it after 1623, is by Wassenaer, in 1625,* who says, in that year the Dutch had determined to abandon it, and remove its occupants to New Amsterdam, to strengthen the latter colony, and avoid expense. A resolution they carried out, although they did not relinquish their trade with the Indians, but occasionally sent a yacht to the vicinity of the fort.

Some discrepancy exists as to dates, it being asserted in one account, that at a particular period the fort was abandoned to the Indians, and in another that it was still occupied by the Dutch.

We shall not attempt to reconcile these apparent contradictions, although we think it would not be difficult to do so, but give what seems to us the more probable state of the case. It was certainly at one time held by the Indians, but we imagine not adversely, as some writers suppose, but because, for the while, abandoned by the Dutch. The feelings of that people to the Dutch upon our river do not appear to have been generally hostile, until after the arrival of the Swedes, when, as might have been expected, each nation tried to gain over its friends and allies among the native tribes.

The fort was re-occupied in 1631, for in that year one Peter Lawrnsn,† whose deposition was taken at New York in 1684-5, states that by order of the Dutch West India Company, he (with seven more) was sent with a sloop with "*Hoysale*" to the Delaware, where the Company had a trading house, with ten or twelve servants belonging to it, which deponent himself did see there settled; that on his return from Delaware river said vessel stopped at Horekill, where deponent did also see a settlement of a brick house belonging to the West India Company."‡

He further states some facts we do not recollect meeting elsewhere; "That on an island near the falls of that river, and near the west side thereof, probably near Trenton, or perhaps near the Water Gap; the said company some three or four years afore (in 1627 or 1628) had a trading house, where were three or four families of Walloons; the place of their settlement he saw, and that they had been settled there by some of the Walloons themselves when they were '*returned*' from these. The date assigned by Lawrnsn should be 1631, and not

* Historische Verhael of Wassenaer, in 3d vol. Doc. Hist. N. Y., pp. 43, 45.

† Probably Peter *Lourison*, mentioned in 1655 by Stuyvesant, as having a thorough knowledge of the navigation of the Delaware. Hazard's Annals, p. 81.

‡ 3 Doc. Hist., 50.

1630, for De Vries who built Fort Oplandt, the history of which is so melancholy, sailed from the Texel on the 12th of Dec. 1630.*

The next mention of the fort by any chronicler, is by De Vries, in his Journal, who, on the 5th of January, 1633, upon the occasion of his second voyage to the Delaware, found it occupied by the Indians. In the same year of the visit of De Vries, 1633, Arent Corsen was its Commissary, under Van Twiller. Van Twiller had just arrived from Holland, and one of the first acts of his administration was to order the fort to be repaired, "as it was much decayed," and that a large house should be built within it. This last circumstance was subsequently made a charge against him on the score of extravagance.† It is not unlikely that the representations of De Vries on his return to Fort Amsterdam induced this action of Van Twiller.§ In 1635 it was perhaps for the last time abandoned, of which some English colonists from Connecticut took advantage, but it appears they were all made prisoners, for although the Dutch had deserted the fort, they had not the river. The prisoners, comprising some fourteen or fifteen persons, were brought to New York, and were taken by De Vries to Virginia. From this time the Dutch determined to maintain it, lest it should fall into possession of the English.|| It will therefore be seen that it was but thrice relinquished—between 1625 and 1631—1633 and 1635—and in 1635. It 1638 it was still occupied, for in this year the Swedes, under Minuit, arrive and erect Fort Christina, near Wilmington; not however without protest from Jan Jansen Van Ilpendam, the Commissary at Fort Nassau.¶ From this moment ceased, the peace that had hitherto prevailed upon the Delaware.

The Dutch soon so severely felt the competition of the Swedes, who undersold them with the Indians, that in 1640** Governor Kieft declared their trade was "entirely ruined," and found in 1639, that although the fort was a heavy burden to the Company, "as regards garrison, provisions and the vessel," they dared not, owing to the presence of the Swedes, venture to reduce it.††

In 1642, Van Ilpendam still remained Commissary at the fort, which at this time was garrisoned by about twenty men. Some set-

* The slaughter of the thirty-two colonists left by De Vries,—Hazard, 25, N. Y. Hist. Coll. vol. i, N. S., p. 251.

† Hazard, 35.

‡ Hazard, 50.

§ Hazard, 34.

|| De Vries' Journal, Hazard's Annals, 40.

¶ Hazard, 45.

** Hazard, 56.

†† Hazard, 50.

tlers from New Haven under Mr. Lamberton, a person conspicuous in the history of that colony, again attempted a foothold on the Schuylkill. Ilpendam is instructed to proceed with his two yachts if necessary, and drive them off, which he did, and thus ended, at that time, further attempts by the English to achieve a settlement on our territory.*

The erection of Fort Christina in 1638, had been a source of sad annoyance to the Dutch, but they were to be much more annoyed in 1643, in the building of Fort Gottenburg by the Swedish Governor, Printz.

The disadvantageous position of Fort Nassau, so entirely commanded, was thus made still more manifest, and was reluctantly maintained, although some years elapsed before finally abandoned.†

Van Ilpendam, who had continued six years in his office of Commissary at the fort, appears in 1664 to have got into trouble, and was proceeded against by the Dutch Attorney General at New Amsterdam, for fraud in his office.‡ The charges are not specified further than that "he defrauded the Company by paying the Indians a higher price than was usual." It was ordered he should be sent to Holland for trial, but the result does not appear. He died long prior to 1653.§ Hudde, a person of some ability, was despatched to Fort Nassau to investigate the conduct of Ilpendam, and he succeeded him as Commissary, filling that office until its abandonment. He found, he says, the "magazine" or storehouse, "without any stock of goods, containing but two bales of Harlem cloth and two beaver skins.|| Nothing of interest occurred from this time until the period of its destruction in 1651. Some of the authorities give the date as 1650, but the evidence is in favor of 1651. Lindstrom, the Swedish engineer, writing in 1654 to Sweden, remarks that the fort had been entirely ruined and burned to the ground, by Renappi,¶ an Indian friendly to the Swedes. It is not unlikely that Renappi, to gratify the Swedes, burned such remnants as were above ground, and which the Dutch permitted to remain undisturbed.**

Fort Casimir, built by Stuyvesant at Newcastle, supplied the place of Nassau, and the cannon and garrison were accordingly removed to the new fort. It was now the turn of the Dutch to retaliate upon the Swedes, which they did by stopping vessels passing to Fort

* Hazard, 61.

† Hazard, 70.

‡ Hazard, 84.

§ Hazard, 136.

¶ Probably intended for the Lennapi.

|| Hazard, 83.

** Swedish MSS. in Hist. Soc'y, Penn.

Christina.* The authorities at home were not, however, prepared for the vigorous conduct of Stuyvesant, and doubted the expediency of the removal, but much more reasonably the propriety of the name, which was more Swedish than Dutch. The difficulty of deciding on a course of action at a distance from the scene of operation was illustrated in this case, for it must be conceded Stuyvesant acted with great sagacity.

The most interesting question which now presents itself as connected with the history of Fort Nassau, is as to its exact position. In the hope of being able to discover this we were led to examine all the maps, the existence of which we could ascertain, embracing this portion of the continent. The following list is the result of our examinations, and so far as we know, is the first attempt at a complete catalogue. We shall presently mention to what extent we have been enabled to fix the site of Nassau.

The first map in the order of date with which we have met, delineating this region of country, is that contained in De Laet,† entitled “Nova Anglia, Novum Belgium et Virginia.” It is so vague however, that it does not give the names of any of our streams, and of those indicated, shows the direction of but one or two which empty into the Delaware.

The next is a map, which may be found in a very fine work, by Blaen, in four volumes, folio, containing maps, and a letter-press description in the French. It is entitled “Le Theatre Du Monde ou Nouvel Atlas mis en lumiere par Guillaume Jean Blaen. Amsterdam, 1645.” The map is contained in the 2d volume, and is described as “Nova Belgica et Anglica Nova.” It is more minute in its topography, as regards New England and New York, than the Delaware, No streams are indicated as emptying into the Delaware within the limits of our territory. *Seven* however are represented in New York as flowing into it from the west, and the river is indicated as issuing from a vast lake in the country of the “Sennecaas.” The “Minquas” are noted as occupying its western bank within our limits. The “Narraticons” the lower, and the “Aquanachuques” the upper part of New Jersey. It appears to be a copy of De Laet.

The next map is one printed in London, and dated 1651. It is extremely curious as relating to that most romantic subject of his-

* Hazard, 126, 133.

† Novus Orbis seu descriptionis Indiæ Occidentales. Authore Joanne De Laet. Antwerp, 1633. Phil. Library, 361 Fol.

torical controversy, the grant to Sir Edmund Ployden, of the Province of New Albion. "The only copy we have ever seen, or of the existence of which we know, is that to which we refer.* It designates the territory on the Delaware as "Nova Albion," and assigns the western side to the Swedes, the eastern to the Dutch, under the titles, "Sweds Plantation" and "Holland Plantation." The following localities are marked upon it, "Axion," "Mont Ployden," "Wanteok," "Eriwoms," but it is impossible to say whether it is intended they should be indicated as forts or settlements, and the geography of the map is so incorrect and unsatisfactory, that their actual position cannot be fixed. The following memorandum is engraved along the margin of the Delaware: "This river the Lord Ployden hath a Patten of and calls New Albion, but the Sweedes are planted in and have a great trade in Furrs."

The next map (in order of date) of the Delaware bay and river, and embracing merely their marginal territory, is a manuscript map, of 1654, twenty-seven inches long, by Peter Lindstrom, the Swedish engineer and which accompanied his description of the country. The original, a copy of which is in possession of the American Philosophical Society, is said still to remain among the Royal Archives at Stockholm.† It is like all the subsequent maps, exceedingly inaccurate, though perhaps as reliable as the Dutch maps. The places and streams are designated in the Indian, and frequently in the French and Swedish languages. In some respects it is extremely valuable, as fixing the name of localities which could not otherwise have been ascertained. One may be mentioned in passing, that of Jacques Island, which is now Little Tinicum Island, and which De Vries says was below Fort Nassau, but which a recent writer, probably not having met with Lindstrom's map, and relying on that of Du Simitiere, endeavors to show formed the site of the City of Camden. It does not, it is to be regretted, indicate the site of the fort; perhaps because three years previously it had been destroyed. The small map published in the original edition of Campanius' New Sweden, and republished in the Memoirs of Penn. Hist. Soc'y, vol. iii, p. 86, is evidently, though not so minute, a careful reduction of Lindstrom.

A map, entitled "*Novi Belgii, Novaque Angliæ Necnon partis Virginie Tabula multis in locis, emendata A. Nicolao Joannis Visschero,*" and without date, is perhaps next in order. The only copy of this, of

* In possession of Mr. John Cadwalader, of Philadelphia.

† Campanius, p 11.

which we are aware, and which we have seen, is that in possession of the New York Historical Society. Mr. G. H. Moore, the very intelligent Librarian of that Society, is of the opinion that it was published about 1654. A copy, and which is there referred to as the first Dutch map of the Delaware, was produced in the celebrated case of Penn against Lord Baltimore,* and was esteemed of much weight as establishing a point in Mr. Penn's favor. One of the witnesses, who appears to have considered himself fortunate in having by accident purchased it at Leyden, supposes it to be of date prior to 1657, "as it calls Fort Casimir still so, and not New Armstel." It was very accurately re-engraved in 1833, by S. Converse, of New York. It is, however, vague, and out of all correctness of scale, but valuable as giving the relative position of places, and as the original from which nearly all the subsequent maps were implicitly copied. Du Simitiere, who in his MS. Collections, attempts a list of all the maps published, but who is not able to collect more than four or five, asserts this to be the first map of the Delaware.

The next is that of Vanderdonck, published in part, in the Collections of the New York Historical Society, vol. i, New Series; in Whitehead's East New Jersey; and O'Callaghan's New Netherlands. Du Simitiere says it is a copy Vischer, a statement confirmed by the slightest examination. He also remarks that this map, with some little variation, accompanies a pamphlet entitled "*Beschryvinge Van Nieu Nederlandt, &c.* Amsterdam, 1656. 4to.†

A map published by Ogilby in his *America*, London, 1671, and inscribed "*Novi Belgii quod nunc Novi Jorck Vocatur, Novaque Angliæ et partes Virginie accruatisuma et Novissima Deliniatio*," is perhaps the next in date. This is a most faithful copy of Vischer and Vanderdonck, delineating all the errors of those geographers, even to preserving the names of forts which had long since been changed, so that it is not a new and revised edition of the old map, but the old map recopied with all its inaccuracies. Montanus, in his *America*, published the same year, 1671, in Amsterdam,‡ inserts a copy of Ogilby's map, printed from Ogilby's plate. There are many other plates in Ogilby similar to those in Montanus, and one work appears in many respects to be an exact translation of the other. As they were pub-

* Breviat, pp. 87, 96.

† Du Simitiere MSS., Phil. Lib., 1412. 4to.

‡ *De Nieuwe Onbekende Weereld of Beschryvinge Van America, &c.* Arnoldas Montanus, Amsterdam, 1671. Loganian Lib., Philad., 1022 F.

lished in the same year, it is not unlikely the plates were transferred from one city to the other by an arrangement of the printers. An evidence of enterprise rather marked at that early day.

The next, and which we have not seen, but which Du Simitiere says is a copy of Vischer, with some alterations in the courses of the branches of the Delaware, was published in Amsterdam, with the following title "*Novi Belgii Novaque Necnon Pennsylvaniae multis locis emendata a Justo Danckers.*" It has Philadelphia marked upon it, but he thinks it is an old map altered to meet sale. He afterwards remarks that Ogilby copied Danckers. As it will be perceived, he says, Danckers copied Vischer, and Ogilby is evidently also a copyist of Vischer, he may have been such through the medium of Danckers. Dancker's map appears to have been engraved after the foundation of Philadelphia, but we think it is in this respect an old plate retouched.

Du Simitiere places next in order, the map published by Ottens, which he says is of the same size as Vischer's and Dancker's. A copy is in the New York State Library, and is entitled "*Totius Neo Belgii, Nova et accuratissima Tabula, Apud Reinier et Joshua Ottens.*" It has no date, but Du Simitiere, for several satisfactory reasons which he states, thinks it was originally published by the Dutch, after the surrender of New York to them in 1673. It is, however, a copy of Vischer, and as in the case of that in the N. Y. State Library, has Philadelphia marked upon it. The plate has been retouched.

The next it is clear, is after Vischer, and is to be found in the State Library. It has no date, but Philadelphia is marked upon it, and is entitled "*Edita Totius Novi Belgii in America, Septentrionale siti delineatio cura et Sumptibus Matthæi Sentteri.*"

There is another map without date, in the N. Y. State Library, copied however from Vischer. It is designated "*Nova Anglia Septentrionale America implantata: Anglon Colonos florentissima: a Baptista Homerus. Norembergæ.*" And another by Seutter, which we have not seen, described as "*Pennsylvania, Nova Jersey et New York, cum regionibus ad flumen Delaware in America sitis Nova Delineatione ob oculos posita per M. Scntterum.*"

Du Simitiere, in his Manuscript Collections, has copied, or which is more likely, compiled a map, which he entitles "*Caart van Nova Belgica, ofte Nieu Nederlandt mit Noort America.*" It has no date, and differs from all others, though Vanderdonck would appear to have been its basis. It assigns a position to Fort Nassau apparently near the mouth of Mantua creek, and *opposite* Fort Gottenburg, a location

unsustained by any authority, and opposed by all, and places Jacques Island at the site of Camden, when we have the assertion of De Vries, who is supported by Lindstrom, that that island was below the fort. For these and other reasons we deem the map altogether unreliable.

The last in the series is that by Arent Rogeeven, in 1675, which is a pilot's chart, with the soundings, &c., and with many other maps is contained in a quarto volume, accompanied by printed instructions, in the possession of the New York Historical Society. It differs from all preceding maps, and although incorrect in the relative position it assigns to streams and places, is the first comparatively correct map of our bay and river. Rogeeven assigns Fort Nassau a position on the river midway Timber and Woodbury creeks, and in this respect follows Vischer.

This we believe comprises a complete list, so far as our researches enable us to judge, of the early maps of the Delaware, and its territory, and it will be seen that with the exception of the chart by Rogeeven, and the Swedish map of Lindstrom, they are all faithful copies of each other, Vischer being the original. A fact which has not, as we are aware been shown before, and may not have been suspected, at least to the extent which we have proved. Every map, Rogeeven perhaps excepted, places the fort on the Delaware, between Timber and Woodbury creeks, and unmistakeably designates Timmerkill as the present Timber creek. We cannot say at what date the name Timmerkill was anglicised into Timber kill or creek, probably at the arrival of the English. The earliest instance of the change, which we have seen, occurs in the Indian grant of 1677, where it is called Timber creek. (Trenton Rec. Lib., 3 No. 1, p. 4.) It was subsequently called Gloucester river, but the old name was soon restored, and it has pretty generally retained it since, we trust never to be lost. Now this designation by the maps must not be regarded as cumulative evidence, and although it proves that Fort Nassau was in the vicinity of Timber creek, we do not think that it might *not* have been immediately at the mouth or upon the borders of the creek.

It will be borne in mind that the first map which mentions it, was published three years after its destruction. But whatever doubt may exist as to its exact site, the description of Acrelius, whose accuracy will not be questioned, irrespective of the maps, clearly shows it was in the vicinity of Timber creek, and that the Timmerkill of 1633, as mentioned by De Vries, is the Timber creek of 1853, having retained its original name longer than any other stream upon the Delaware.

The word "Timmer" is of pure Dutch origin, and is from the verb *timmeren*, to build, or it may be an abbreviation of Timmer-man-kill, builder's creek. The circumstance that the word with a slight modification is common to the Dutch, the Swedish, and the Anglo Saxon, timmer in the former, and timber in the latter, meaning "to build," may have caused it to remain so long unchanged. Why this name was conferred we have no means of determining, but may it not have been because of the erection upon it of the trading house or Fort Nassau, the *first* house built upon the Delaware, and long before the name of Timmerkill could be appropriately applied to any other stream. Acrelius (p. 63) says it was in the Indian Tetamekanckz kill, and that the region was commonly called by the English, Gloucester, by the Dutch, Fort Nassau, and by the Indians, Arwames, Tekoke, Teckaacho, Hermaossing; and in another place (p. 35) he speaks of "Fort Nassau where Gloucester is."

The map of Lindstrom, though not so satisfactory as to the position of the stream, describes Timber creek, as Tetameckoncks, a slight variation in spelling from Acrelius, and the region as Arwames, Quincorening. Nor was the Indian name lost at the period of the settlement by the English, for the court of the county of Gloucester, on the 28th of May, 1686, ordered that "a court be held one tyme at Arwames, alias Gloucester, and another tyme at Red Bank.* (Rec. Court Sessions, Woodbury.)

In order to a more intelligent examination of the question of precise location, let us look at the geography of these creeks. Big Timber creek, which before its diminution by the cultivation of the country, was a powerful stream, larger than its immediate neighbors, navigable a considerable distance towards its source, and still navigable, forms with the adjacent shores and its sister, the Little Timber, once navigable, but now shrunk to a small compass, a miniature and well sheltered bay of about a quarter of a mile in width.

As they approach they are separated by a tongue or strip of land, and although we think it must be regarded as conclusive, that the fort was built in or near the mouth of Big or Little Timber creeks, we are aware that there is no evidence fixing its *exact* location. Let us inquire, however, whether, in the absence of positive proof, there are facts which would warrant the belief, that it was more likely built at

* The present Woodbury creek, so named after the original patentee in 1688, was also called Red Bank creek, Long Harries creek. (Revel's Surveys, pp. 43, 63, Trenton.)

the point, or somewhere along the margin of this tongue of land, rather than upon the lower bank of Big, or the upper bank of Little Timber. And first, as a most important element in the consideration, we should ascertain the object for which Nassau was erected. It is over and over again asserted by all the Dutch writers, that it was simply as a place of trade with the Indians. Every early fort erected by the Dutch was with reference to a trade for peltries. It is not to be denied that there are sites in the vicinity of Timber creeks, which from their more commanding position, any modern engineer would pronounce as preferable for defence against an European foe, to any position upon the creeks. And writers who overlook the avowed object of the Dutch, and which they could not have accomplished but by convenience of access to the streams, have pointed out these other sites, as more likely to have been chosen. A more thorough examination of the river might have induced them to have selected a stream larger than Timber creek, and when they discovered the advantages of the Schuylkill, they in 1633 erected Fort Beversrede, and seem to have regretted that they had not in the first instance, chosen the west instead of the east side of the river.*

It has by some been supposed that Nassau may have been built to *command* the Schuylkill. The main object of the Dutch would, as shown here, been inconsistent with such an intention. Nor do we think they would have built Beversrede on the Schuylkill, if their purpose had been effected by Nassau. Hudde, the Commissary of the latter, was in 1648 informed, and "upon inquiry found" that the Swedes were carrying timber to build upon the Schuylkill. If it had commanded the Schuylkill, he would have seen and not been advised of the movements of the Dutch.†

De Vries does assert the fort was one mile (or four English) from Gottenburg, which would have brought it to Mantua creek, about five miles from Timber creek. It is more reasonable to suppose this an error in the print, as it is inconsistent in every respect with De Vries' own statement. Hudde, in 1662,‡ eleven years after the destruction of the fort, speaks of "Mantes corner," (Mantua creek) as "about half a mile," or two English miles, "below the destroyed Fort Nassau." This corrects De Vries, and shows it could not have been upon Mantua creek, but would bring it in the neighborhood of Woodbury creek. We think that Hudde should be entitled to the benefit of his better

* Vertoogh Van Nieu Nederland, &c. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2d S. vol. ii, pt. 2, 280.

† Hazard Ann., 99.

‡ Hazard Ann., 114.

knowledge, when as an occupant of the fort in 1646 he was likely to speak with more precision, and officially states that he purchased of the Indians, a piece of land which he describes as on the west shore, about a mile distant from the fort to the north,* and which it is shown was the site of Philadelphia, just one Dutch, or four English miles due north of Timber creek.

Although we do not place much reliance upon distance as given by the early authorities, from the necessary difficulty of correctly ascertaining them, yet there is a piece of proof bearing upon the site of the fort, too remarkable to be disregarded. We refer to the courses and distances of the different reaches of the Delaware, given by Lindstrom, the Swedish engineer.† He designates the average direction of the different courses of the river, intending probably that the navigation should rely upon his soundings. The two points mentioned by him, and which we are enabled accurately to fix, are Beaver Island and Fogelsand, or Vogelsand. The former was Chester Island, the latter a bar or shoal, which commenced about the lower boundary of Kensington, and stretched along the shore about the distance of six miles and a half to Bridesburg. Although, though much diminished, and not so formidable now, as when De Vries expressed his apprehension of it, congratulating himself that through Providence he had escaped it, it is yet visible between Richmond and Bridesburg. The distance from Chester Island to Fort Nassau, according to Lindstrom, is two and a half Swedish miles, if such were meant, and as one Swedish is equal to six English, making fifteen miles. From Chester Island to Timber creek is twelve and a half miles, from the latter to the lower boundary of Kensington, about five miles, and to Bridesburg, eleven miles and a half, according to the United States' survey, that most admirable exhibition of the scientific skill of our country, and which for the first time accurately establishes the distances upon

* Hazard's Annals, 89.

† "The first to be observed on approaching the mouth of the river and bay, is to steer N.N.W. for three miles, when you arrive at the mouth; then W.S.W. nine miles. First point N.W. by N. or N.W. three miles—Second, N. one and a half—Third, in the bend, N.W. by N. or N.W. one and a half—Fourth, N.E. N.N.E., or a little more easterly, two—Fifth, fresh water, E. or E. by N., five. Then arrive at an island called Naratecomp, (probably Tompkin's Island) which keep to larboard, passing Naraticons north towards Beaver (Chester) Island, which keep to larboard, and steer E.N.E. a quarter. From Beaver's Island to Fort Nassau, E.N.E. two and a half. From that fort to Fogelsand, N.E., one and a half—East, one—E.E. and by N., six—N.E. one and a half. To the Northwest is a large island to pass N.E. by E. three quarters—again N.E. one and a half—E.S.E., one and a half—N.E. or E., one—straight to Sankhitans—E. by N. or N.E. to Sankitans Island, three—and from thence to Sankhitans may be half an hours' walk."—Swedish MS. in Penn. Hist. Soc'y, translated by Mr. Richard Seldener.

our river, and the character of its channel. The bearings however, as the slightest examination of the map will show, leave no doubt as to the position of the fort.

The direction of the river from Chester Island to Timber Creek, is very nearly straight, bearing an east northeast course, and the first abrupt change is *precisely* opposite the mouth of Timber creek. Beginning in a northeast direction at Timber creek, as described by him, it abruptly turns to the east at Kensington, so that if the distances do not correspond with present measurements, and for which discrepancy allowance should be made, there can be no mistake as to the bearings, for if we were unable to fix the points, the courses denoted by Lindstrom, in connection with the distances, correspond to no other portion of the river. We are aware that time in many places has much altered the channel; to what extent previously to the coast survey, the want of reliable charts prevents us from deciding. Lindstrom, in his account, so often referred to by us, remarks that "by Avarmus the river *again* begins to deepen." Now it is a curious fact that the channel is deeper, except immediately opposite some of the wharves of Philadelphia, for the space of about a mile between the city of Gloucester and the mouth of Timber creek, than at any other place north of Tinnicum Island, and for a greater distance than any point on the river. There is another map* of limited extent, apparently reliable, which shows a greater depth of water from the Timber creek, for the distance of a mile and three quarters below, than at any other place.

The journal of De Vries, that most graphic and accurate of Dutch navigators, is too interesting in its connection with the Fort to be overlooked. He visited the Delaware, for the second time, 1633, and gives a minute description of his adventures. He says on the 5th (January, 1633,) "Weighed anchor in the morning and sailed before the little Fort, where formerly some families of the West India Company had dwelt, named Fort Nassau. Some Indians had assembled there and wished to barter skins; but I desired to trade for their Turkish beans, because we had no goods to exchange for peltries, having given them away at Swanendal in order to make peace; so that there were only two pieces of cloth and two kettles left, for which we wanted beans. The Indians, we observed, were very *scrupulous* after that, and told us to haul in the Timmerkil. There was an Indian (woman) who was of the Sankitans, who told us we should

* Hill's Map of ten miles round.—1809.

not haul *entirely* in the Kil, as she knew that they wanted to make an attack upon us. Whereupon we told her that if she would tell us all the particulars of their designs we would give her a cloth dress; as she did. And she confessed and told us that a sloop with Englishmen, was descending Count Ernest's river, and they had murdered the English."

"The 6th, we weighed anchor and laid to at the entrance of the Timmerkil. Made everything ready in order to see what the Indians would do. * * * On the 7th came a chief whom they call Sackema, from the Armewaminge, to whom we told our adventure. He said he had heard there had been on board a number, but he requested we should go *further* into Timmerkill with the yacht; but as I already had a bad suspicion, I told my interpreter to ask why he would not bring his boats there. He answered that where we laid it was too muddy and too flat to come on board, and likewise too cold to run through the mud. Then I told him that I would go again to the Fort, as it was hard and dry, for them to come on board; with which he seemed to be perfectly satisfied. He then went again on shore, and said when we were lying near or by the Fort, he would come on board again.

"The 8th—weighed anchor and went again before the Fort, when we saw that it was full of Indians, and still more and more coming. A canoe from the Fort came towards us, in which were nine chiefs. On 3d (February), the navigation being open, we hauled out of the Creek,* and sailed before Fort Nassau, where we had left the Indians, and saw no Indians. It commenced to freeze again, and we hauled in *one* creek *right over* the Fort, as we were afraid if we got froze in there we might get into danger. When we had laid eight days in the creek, on account of the ice, there came a canoe with an old Indian and a squaw, and brought with him some maize and beans, for some of which we traded, but could not find what was the reason we did not see any more Indians. It appeared that he would not tell us. He seemed to be afraid, and went frequently on land and looked around about him, so that we perceived there was something to draw his attention there. We hauled out of the creek the next day, and went between the ice and the shore. * * The 11th, there came *over* the river *from* the Fort about 50 Indians, *over* the ice, with pieces of canoe, and came immediately towards the yacht, on board of which

* De Vries says, a creek within a mile of Jacques Island, probably Schuykill.

they could step from the boat. They spoke with us. They were Minquas, who lived above English Virginia, and came for war purposes. * * We resolved as the Spring tides commenced, to haul before the mouth of the creek, so that they could not get aboard of us and become our masters. Hauled out about 25 paces, but there was not water enough there. I spoke to the commander of the yacht to throw out some ballast, so as the yacht could lay afloat, but he could not prevail on the crew to do so. Then I asked them whether they would rather be at the mercy of these barbarous men, than to throw some ballast overboard. They answered me that as we were in the river, our lives were at the mercy of the ice. I answered that God would help us, as he had long done so already. At last I told them that I had three bottles of brandy in my case, and would give them one when they had thrown the ballast overboard, and we would help one another. The yacht now being afloat, we drifted with the ice, and with the latter part of the ebb about 1,000 paces below the creek, lying between two high fields of ice, with the bow-sprit over the land.* The Indians came towards the yacht. We stood eight of us on our arms."

The 12th. "We kept them off, and they wanted to come on board by the bowsprit." * * * De Vries was then driven by tide and ice up the river, and he remarks, "We, through the assistance of the Lord, got past Vogelsandt, as our greatest fear was at that place, and got with the flood to Schoone (handsome) Island."† De Vries afterwards sailed past without stopping at the Fort, and did not at that time return to it.

This narrative may make a different impression on different minds, and with us justifies the supposition that the Fort was upon or near the tongue of land, and at all events is conclusive that it was on Timber Creek. Some of the expressions are significant, and become more so, if we bear in mind the geography of the creek. If they entered the little bay formed by both creeks, and the Fort was on the tongue of land, they were, strictly speaking, in neither creek, and no words

* From this it would appear that the vessel was drawn into a cove. (Translator.)

† We are indebted for those portions of the journal under the dates of 5th and 6th of January, to Mr. Murphy, of Brooklyn, who has re-translated De Vries for publication, not from the Du Simitiere extracts, but from the original work. At the period of the first translation, published in 1841, by the New York Historical Society, but one copy of De Vries was known to be in existence—that in the Royal Library at Dresden. For the rest of the extracts, which we believe have never before been published, we are indebted to Mr. D. L. Kurtz, who rendered them at our request from the Du Simitiere MSS.

could be used with more propriety than that they "sailed *before* the Fort." In this position they were invited to haul *in* the Kill, but were cautioned by an Indian woman not to haul *entirely* in the Kill, from which we infer they were in the little bay, but not in either creek. Again, on the 3d of February, they hauled in "*one creek right over the Fort.*" The phraseology is peculiar, and shows that if the Fort had been more than two miles distant, or midway between Big and Little Timber Creek, as the maps place it, De Vries, who is so careful in the choice of language, would not have used the expressions he has employed.

We would proceed to notice the discrepancies with which we have met, affecting the general question of position, but we think it will be found they do not disturb the weight of authority. The first we would refer to, may be found in a valuable pamphlet by a gentleman who has collected many interesting particulars as to the Delaware, but who has been led into error with regard to the position of Nassau. Although at one place he observes that the Fort was "erected on the eastern bank of the Delaware, a few miles *below* Coaquenaku, now Philadelphia," and that "the place was called Techââcho, and is in the vicinity of the town of Gloucester,"* in which statement he is correct; yet he afterwards remarks, that De Vries (on his visit in 1633) "passed up the river, now a cheerless solitude, Fort Nassau *opposite* Coaquenaku and the Island Acquecanasua, having been for some time abandoned. *Above* Nassau, at the mouth of the Timmerkill, now Cooper's Creek, was seated a tribe of Indians, who invited him to enter the stream."† It will be perceived he has inadvertently been misled in two respects; having incorrectly rendered the word "*to the Timmerkill,*" for "*into the Timmerkill;*" and as the Fort was *below* Gloucester, leading to the inference, as the only method of reconciling the difficulty, that the Timmerkill was above it, and must have been Cooper's Creek; in which he has been followed by all those who have written since. We are, however, not aware of a single authority which states that Cooper's Creek, and which is so called in the very earliest surveys, was ever known as Timmerkill, while the whole weight of evidence is against it; or that the present Timber Creek was ever known among the Dutch by any other name than Timmerkill. The other misapprehension is with respect to the island

* Sketches of the Primitive Settlements on the Delaware; by James N. Barker, Phila., 1829, p. 14.

† Ibid, p. 18.

"Acquecanasua," which, according to Lindstrom's map, is the present Petty's Island, and is at the *mouth* of Cooper's Creek, so that the Fort could not be opposite this island without being at Cooper's Creek, which he calls the Timmerkill, and above the Fort; a position which the writer evidently does not intend to assign it.

It is questionable, however, whether until the visit of De Vries in 1633, they knew much about the Schuylkill or river generally, and it is not improbable that as the region about Timber Creek was, according to modern discoveries and the writer's statements, more populously settled by the natives than any point below it on the Jersey shore, it may have been selected on that account. It is doubtful, therefore, whether the expediency of a defence against a foreign invasion ever occurred to them, for it was not until the advent of the Swedes, fifteen years after the building of Nassau, that the necessity of defending themselves against an European foe was felt; nor was it until thirteen more years had elapsed, that they thought of building a fort as a means of defence against their rivals, and Nassau was abandoned, not because it did not command the river, but because it was, as we have seen, commanded by the Swedish forts lower down the river. We know, however, that the Fort did command the river; for in 1644, Van Ilpendam, its commissary, was directed to sink a New England vessel, if it attempted to pass, and the vessel was obliged to return,* and its commissary Hudde, in 1647, fired over a Swedish barque which in passing refused to show its colors.† The tongue of land is the only spot immediately on both streams, and facing the river, which secured an uninterrupted sweep of the Delaware. We have, besides, the testimony of Lindstrom, who in describing the country in 1654, says that "at Avarmus, where the Hollanders' fort formerly stood, the brushwood on the shores makes the landing difficult"—a condition in which the Dutch found it, and in which it remained until the country was settled, and a circumstance which of itself would render this tongue of land upon its margin a most advantageous point for the erection of a trading post, while the country was at the same time rendered inaccessible except by water. Both the Dutch and Swedes, particularly the former, were a water people, and the value which they set upon the streams, "as avenues of trade with the Indians," continually appears in the annals of both people. For example, in 1643 we find the Swedish Governor Printz, to counteract the effect of Fort Beversrede

* Hazard's Annals, 80.

† Hazard's Annals, 98.

on the Schuylkill, (built for the purposes of trade with the Kingsessing Indians,) employed the *Dutch* company's carpenter to erect on an "island," about "gun-shot" within the borders of the Schuylkill, "*secured* from the west by a creek, and on the south-east and east sides with *under-wood* and valley lands," another Fort; and the authority goes on to say "this Fort cannot control the river (Delaware), but has the *command over the whole creek*, while this creek (the Schuylkill) is the only remaining avenue for trade with the Minquas, and without it out it this river (the Delaware) is of little value."* The Fort at the Hoerkill was built upon the creek at Lewes, and not on the Bay. Is not this confirmatory of the supposition that as the streams, in the erection of these posts, were regarded not only as a *security* against the Indians and others, but as the only means of communication with the interior, that spot would have been preferred, which, while commanding the Delaware, commanded and was *secured* by both streams, over that which was secured by and which commanded but one stream.*

If our designation of the location of Nassau is correct, although resembling it in miniature, it was not unlike that of Fort Amsterdam, facing as the latter did the Bay, and flanked as it was by the East and North rivers. Many a more commanding position might have been chosen in the immediate vicinity of Manhattan, if the great object of the Dutch had not been trade with the Indians.

The strip of land to which we refer as bounded by both creeks, is of an elevation with the banks of either stream, and beyond the reach of the tides. The place at which the ruins have been discovered, is immediately on the bank, and is at present entirely overflowed at high tide. With a distance of about forty yards on the upper, and one hundred on the lower, it is the point which best commands the river Delaware. The testimony is abundant, that the soil has to some extent worn away, and it is said that a large portion of the bar, which formed the side of the Little Timber, and is now just above the level of low water, was once covered with wood. We do not assert that

* Hazard's Annals, 77.

† De Vries, in his journal, under date of the 13th and 19th October, 1643, thus refers to the Swedish fort Elsinburgh, near Salem: "13th—Raised our anchor, sailed past Reedy Island, and came nearly up to *Hoy* Creek, and there a fort was being erected by the Swedes, with three points. They fired on us that we should strike our flag."

* * On the 19th, came again to the fort, where we again dropped anchor, and rowed ashore to the fort, which was not yet finished, being made triangular, with three points, close on the border of the river, and there lay six or eight metal cannon, of 12 pounds.

the ruins are those of the fort,* but we should not forget the fact that the site has much altered in the course of two hundred and thirty years, and that building, if such it was, may once have been beyond the reach of the tide. We must also recollect that the Dutch were a people of fixed notions, with little disposition to change, and accustomed to build very near the water.

* Since the above was written, through the kindness of Dr. I. S. Mulford, we visited the spot in question, where we were met by Mr. William Hugg, Mr. Joshua Browning and Mr. John Redfield. Mr. Hugg stated that at or near the place we designated (the tide being too high, the logs could not be seen,) were the remains of what he supposed to be an old wharf, and they were also known as such, although he had never heard they had been used as a wharf. At first he indicated a spot nearer the present building, at the point where was once an old staging, and have long been facilities for landing. The distance, however, between the points is very small. He further stated he was sixty-eight years of age, and recollected as far back as 1798. His impression was, the structure was square, not angular as is the case with the remains, and was filled with stones; did not know nor had he ever heard that there had been a wall within it, an inner tier of logs—a store house attached—a flood gate at or near, or a road leading to the spot. He remarked that within his memory the water had encroached some twenty or thirty feet, and that the remains could be rowed around in a boat. As it would be just possible to do this now, the discrepancy cannot be reconciled, except upon the supposition that the logs to which Mr. Hugg refers were much farther in the creek.

Mr. Browning, the owner of the premises, said he recollected the spot since 1810, that his father, who died in 1825, purchased the property in 1805, and had never mentioned the existence of any wharf, store house, or flood gate at, or road leading to the spot, and that his attention had been called to the remains in question, by Mr. Redfield, who had discovered them. Mr. Redfield expressed himself convinced they were those of Fort Nassau. That he had lived all his life in the neighborhood, and had never heard of a wharf, store house, or flood gate at the spot, and that there was an ancient flood gate further up the creek.

Mr. James Leman, whom the writer has seen since, stated he was eighty-two years old, commenced to sail out the creek in 1789, and has long been familiar with it. He positively indicates the site of the logs as the position of a flood gate, which had its corresponding support on the sand point on the opposite side of Little Timber creek. He said that the "sand point" was covered with trees, and that a house was built upon it close to the flood gate; that the object of the gate was, in connection with a stone wall, which ran towards the "burnt cabin," to enclose a portion of the sand point as a meadow. At the time referred to, the gates were in good order, and that he had often laid with his vessel within them. He thought the frame work of the logs was square, did not recollect a wall within it, nor a wharf or store house near it, or any where in the vicinity.

Mr. Leman is not sustained as to a flood gate, which is said to have been further up the creek, nor is it possible to reconcile his statement with Mr. Hugg's for a flood gate in good repair, with a house attached, could hardly have so far perished in six years as to leave but a few logs. Such has been the difficulty of ascertaining the truth of facts of comparatively recent existence. It may be mentioned that the title papers of the property afford no evidence of a wharf, store house, flood gate, or road; nor do the surveys or records at Trenton or Burlington, nor those of the Court at Woodbury. It appears by the latter, that a ferry at a very early day was established between Gloucester and Wiccaco. Frequent reference is also made to the ferry at the *mouth* of Timber creek, but this we are informed by Judge Fisher of Woodbury, was applied to designate the ferry across the creek on the road from Salem to Gloucester, before the erection of a bridge, in contradistinction to a ferry higher up the creek, to Philadelphia or elsewhere. In Scull and Heap's map of 1750, of Philadelphia and environs, which somewhat minutely designates buildings in New Jersey, one is marked on the site of the present structure, on the point of land between the two creeks, and which is the second or third house at different times built on or near the spot, but no other building is noted in the immediate vicinity.

A remarkable instance of this, and one bearing upon our inquiry, is that in 1633, ten years after the erection of Nassau, they built "upon a flat" on the Connecticut river, called by them "Versche," or "Fresh" river, and at the site of the present city of Hartford, near the mouth of Hartford Little river, the trading house or Fort "Van Goede Hoop," or "Huys de Hoop," the fort of "Good Hope," or "House of Hope," which they protected by two cannon.* Fort Nassau, the first Dutch fort built upon the North river was on account of its position swept away in 1617 by a flood.†

Such are all the facts that we have been able to collect as to the history and position of Nassau. And it should not be matter of surprise that we have been unable to ascertain precisely where it was, but rather that we have been enabled to approach the truth. It is not unlikely, that in the obscure recess of some European library, or among the dusty archives of some State paper office, there reposes all the information the curious would seek. The papers procured in Holland by Mr. Brodhead, and which are now in the course of publication through the enlightened liberality of the State of New York, may develop something, but if they do not, the spirit of research will ever lament the loss of what it seeks in those masses of manuscript which that gentleman so properly deploras, but which he arrived too late to rescue.

NOTE. Since this sketch was written we have met Mrs. Tamer Cook, aged 87, who in 1803 resided on the Delaware shore, at the mouth of Big Timber Creek. She says she has heard the Fort was on the *south* side of Big Timber Creek, (in this respect confirming the map,) and that the remains are still to be seen in a bank of earth, of horse-shoe form, which have been pointed out as those of Fort Nassau. And further, that a number of Indian relics, and Dutch brick

* Benson's Mem.: Collect. N. Y. Hist. Soc.: 2d S. vol. ii, part 1st, 100. Vertoogh, Ib., vol. ii, part 2, pp. 276, 277. New Eng. Genealog. R., vol. vi, p. 368. De Vries, Collect. N. Y. H. Soc. N. Y., vol. i, 1st ser. p. 260.

† We were mistaken in supposing that the dimensions given on the map in O'Callaghan's New New Netherlands, the MS. of which was obtained by Mr. Brodhead at the Hague, did not refer to Fort Nassau on the North river. Although we observed it bore date in 1616, we were led to believe from the manner in which the measurements were noted, and as the position of the fort does not appear to be given, that the memorandum was made subsequently to the preparation of the map, and referred to Fort Nassau on the Delaware.

with *letters upon them*, were found at different times on the spot. That an Indian battle took place there, and that she has seen remains dug up in the vicinity. On one occasion they were discovered in a sitting posture; and on another with the head downwards, and resting upon a stone jar, handsomely sculptured with a bead in the edge. In the latter case the skeleton was discovered under a swing near her house, the bones becoming exposed by the wearing away of the soil. The tradition she had from a Mr. Cattel, who lived in the neighborhood, and died a great age. Some twenty-five years ago, I learn, some gentlemen visited the place and pronounced it to be the site of the Fort, but whether from representations made to them at the time by the neighbors, or from exploration, or mere conjecture, cannot be ascertained. It is possible their expression of opinion may have been the only reason for supposing it to have been the location of the Fort, and have given rise to subsequent reports. This will need investigation. The elevation is immediately in the edge of the fast land, and on the margin of what is now meadow, but which was once overflowed, and is about 150 yards from the Delaware, and about 400 from Big Timber Creek.

The spot commands the river, and may have been accessible to vessels. The word "*redoubt*," used to describe the Fort, may have more significance than we at first supposed. If applicable at all to the remains discovered at the junction of the creek, it is certainly much more correctly so to those to which we now refer. The spot deserves and we hope will receive a thorough examination.

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